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From Peruzzi's Oil Portrait of Himself

Probably painted during the intimacy of Raphael and Peruzzi in Rome before 1515; unknown to earlier writers; at the sale by the American Art Galleries, of the pictures of the Davanzati Palace and Villa Pia collections of Professor Commendatore Elia Volpi of Florence, at the Hotel Plaza, New York City, November 27, 1916, sold to Warwick House (Messrs. Soldwedel and Hofer), for Jackson Johnson, St. Louis, Mo.

THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
BALDASSARE PERUZZI
of Siena

By WILLIAM WINTHROP KENT

Member of

The American Institute of Architects

The Architectural League of New York

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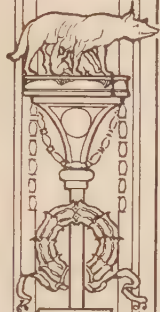
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BOLOGNA



SIENA
1481



ROME
1536

BALDASSARE
PERUZZI
ARCHITECT
PAINTER
ENGINEER



CARPI



Portrait Drawn by Peruzzi of Himself

In His Sketch Book in the Public Library of Siena

“He may truly be said never to have had
an equal in Architecture”—*Vasari*.

“Architetto Universale”—*Lomazzo*.

“This most excellent master”—*Milanesi*.

“Fino ad essere anteposto a Bramante”
—*Lanzi*.

“Le plus elegant, le plus fin, le plus in-
dépendant des architectes qui chercherent
fortune à Rome”—*Eugene Müntz*.

“Forse il piu perfetto architetto del Rin-
ascimento”—*Domenico Gnoli*.

“The greatest architect of the Renais-
sance”—*Sir Reginald Blomfield*.



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TO
MY FATHER
HENRY MELLEN KENT

586168

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PREFACE

Some thirty years ago the writer first saw Baldassare Peruzzi's Pollini Palace, the Carmine tower and other works of beautiful and individual character at Siena. Admiration of their architectonic and scholarly qualities was strengthened later by study of the Massimi, Farnesina and other palaces built by him in Rome and elsewhere, for all are of interest, many of great merit and some are masterpieces.

Keen critics have praised Peruzzi's designs in architecture, painting and engineering, great artists have studied them with profit. Lanzi says of him, "Living in the brightest period of modern art he is one of the most interesting personages in its history," yet a fully illustrated account of his life and works has never been published. It would be hard to plan more absorbing and instructive work than the collecting of all possible data about him through travel and research. This has opened for the writer many new paths to study of the Renaissance. It seemed, moreover, as if this long-standing neglect of a great artist might be remedied and possible assistance given to future designers, travelers and students who could not personally view all his buildings and sketches, and so, during several visits to Italy, search for all matters pertaining to him began. Many unrecorded traces of his work and influence gradually presented themselves; buildings heretofore unpublished, in and around Siena and elsewhere; sketches in the Uffizi hardly known to modern writers; drawings and photographs in America and Europe and a likeness or two never yet reproduced, besides buildings which as at Carpi and Bologna seemed to show his hand.

His chief works are described, as far as possible, chronologically, but it is difficult to make more than careful guesses at the date of certain of his buildings and frescoes.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kind help which he received from Mr. Edward R. Smith, Avery Library, New York; Prof. Stevens, head of the American Academy in Rome; Prof. Achille Bertini Calosso, of the Borghese Gallery, Rome; Prof. Vittorio Mariani, architect, of Siena, who knows some of the present owners of Peruzzi's buildings; Signor Mieli of Siena; Prof. Edoardo Collamarini, head of the Bologna School of Architecture; Cav. Umberto Olivieri, Rome; Mr. H. Nelson Gay, Rome; Mr. F. H. Bacon and Mr. W. H. Kilham, Boston, Mass.; Mr. Claude Bragdon; Mr. Lawrence Grant White of New York, in the loan of Peruzzi's own drawings; Mr. Jackson Johnson, St. Louis; and Warwick House, New York City. The excellent photographs of Messrs. Moscioni of Rome; "Poppi", i.e. Zagnoli, of Bologna; Lombardi of Siena; Braun of Paris; Alinari & Cook, Anderson Brogi, Danesi and others of Rome, have been of great help for study, the use of many for illustration has been freely given and due thanks and credit are returned herewith.

Lawrence Park, Bronxville, N. Y., 1925.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF BALDASSARE PERUZZI

CHAPTER I

SIENA—1480-81—1503

On the 7th of March, 1480 (1481, common style),¹ during the pontificate of Sixtus IV., there was baptized in the City of Siena, Tuscany, Baldassare Peruzzi, destined to play an important part in the development of the Renaissance.

There has been in the past much argument as to the place of his birth and altho' Volterra, Florence, Siena, and Ancaiano have claimed him, Gaetano Milanesi, a compatriot discovered that the baptismal registry at Siena shows that he was baptized there.

In confirmation of this there has reached the writer, through the kindness of Professor Mariani of Siena, a transcript of the record in the Archives of Siena, reading as follows: (Translation) "Year 1480—folio 458. Baldassare Thommaso son of Giovanni di Salvestro da Volterra was baptized on the seventh of March; Jacomo da Piemonti was godfather." Which conforms closely to Milanesi's transcript.²

The village of Ancaiano, a small settlement on a hillside near Cetinale about seven miles from Siena, is often mentioned by early writers as Peruzzi's actual birthplace. Among these Guglielmo della Valle in his "Sienese Letters" (Rome 1786) states that Giulio Mancini in his treatise on painting,³ speaking of the country of this artist gives the following information: "I think, in brief, that certain things which he (Vasari) says of Baldassare Peruzzi, whom he tries to prove a native of Volterra of Florentine origin, and some other things, do not correspond to the truth, because he was in fact born at Accaiano, villa of the court of the Castello di Sovicello, a diocese of Volterra perhaps, but of the state of Siena, and distant from that city, six or eight miles, a relative of Meccarino⁴ as I heard long ago from Maestro Alessandro della Rocca, then an old man of eighty years, but of excellent

¹ Stegmann and Von Geymüller say "15th of January, 1480." "Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana."

² Milanesi's edition of Vasari's "Lives."

³ In MS "Ragguaglio delle cose di Siena."

⁴ Domenico Beccafumi, called Micarino, Meccherino or Meccarino, eminent as a painter and sculptor, was born 1484-6, at or near Siena. He took his name from a man who noticed his early talent who may have been the one to whom Mancini here refers. Vasari says that Peruzzi and Beccafumi were intimate.

memory and a friend of one and another goldsmith, so that one must not doubt that he was Sieneſe."

It ſeems as if there muſt have been ſome baſis for ſuch a tradition as this. Could it have been that Peruzzi actually ſaw the light in Ancaiano and was carried to Siena proper for baptiſm for lack of a local church in the little nearby ſettlement? It is not impoſſible. Mancini was phyſician to Pope Urban VIII. and a man of education and ſtanding, who probably tranſmitted the ſtory exactly as he heard it. The perſiſtence of this tradition is alſo ſhown by the following letter received from a deſcendant of Peruzzi,

"Ancaiano (Sovicille) July 8-1915

Moſt Worthy Sir:

Baldassare Peruzzi was born at Ancaiano and there ſtill remains an old tower where tradition ſays he lived. The exiſting family is deſcended from the architect Peruzzi—of them I am now the only one here, the others have gone away.

The local church is not the work of Peruzzi, but of Fontana who deſigned alſo, in 1667, the villa of Cetinale, belonging to the Chigi family.

The villa of Vico Bello (near Siena) always of the houſe of Chigi, was built from the deſigns of Peruzzi. If other better information ſhould be needed be aſſured that I would be able to make it my buſineſs to ſecure it.

Greetings from thy friend,

Cesare Peruzzi

Tobacconist."

Unleſs, however, later documents are found to eſtabliſh other facts, Siena proper muſt be accepted as the baptiſmal and as probably the birth place.

Although Baldassare Peruzzi's full name was Baldassare Thomasso di Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvatore Peruzzi, he was referred to and ſigned himſelf often, merely as "Baldassare da Siena," Bal. Sen., or even B. B. according to one authority. The name was alſo ſpelled Perucci, Perucio, Petrucci and in the Latin form Perugo, or Baldasse Perutio de Siena, as in a letter of his of 1528, or abbreviated, Putio. His contemporaries often alluded to him merely as "Baldassare."

His father was Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvatore Peruzzi, a weaver of Volterra. Vaſari tells of a ſiſter Virginia of nearly Baldassare's age, but we know nothing more about her—and Milaneſi records the birth of a ſiſter Deſiderio Maria in February 15, 1475, while a brother Pietro is mentioned in a leaſe, of 1511, now in Rome and apparently not known to Milaneſi.

His father fled, Vaſari ſtates, from Volterra to Siena (in 1475 Milaneſi believes), or perhaps only to juſt outside Siena, to Ancaiano—which in a way was territory of Volterra—in times of civil upheaval and poſſibly made acquaintances there. This might naturally have led to the ſon going back in after years to Volterra proper, and decorating "in the Florentine ſtyle" a chapel, now deſtroyed, near the Florentine gate. Before he was twenty

he studied architecture there, Matas says, with Francesco di Giorgio. The latter, a talented Siense architect, wrote a treatise on architecture now preserved in manuscript in the Siena Public Library which also treasures one of Peruzzi's sketch books. The doorway of Fontegiusta, Siena, is by Di Giorgio (Pl. 3).

Peruzzi's designs show details like Di Giorgio's and he certainly made the acquaintance of Pietro di Andrea da Volterra, whom he accompanied to Rome in 1503, after showing his ability as a painter and being induced to go by the invitation of Agostino Chigi, the Siense-Roman banker.

The shepherd Giotto early saw greater beauty in nature than in beautiful Byzantine mosaics, rural Domremy nurtured and quickened Joan of Arc, yet more surprising is it that from an obscure Volterra-Siena family, whose history is now almost unknown, there came this weaver's son whose capacity for hard, discouraging work and inherent sense of the values of line, mass, proportion, and color, placed him quickly among the great men at Rome.

Mr. William J. Stillman, in an article in the *Century* on "The Coinage of the Greeks," states his belief that the *Tyrrhenian* Pelasgi, coming anciently into Greece (Thucydides IV., 109) carried the arts thither and that "the true artistic nature, as opposed to imitation or monumental, was the original appanage of the Pelasgic race developed in the great Italian empire built up by it." He also says that to a survival in this Pelasgic stock was due the revival of art in Tuscany the ancient home of the *Tyrrhenian* Pelasgi.

That is logical, and it is quite possible that many Tuscans, including Peruzzi, inherited their noted keen sense of beauty from Pelasgic ancestry. This would partly explain why he so pre-eminently appreciated and suggested in his designs a quality akin to the Greek.

Renaissance retrospection and study included not alone classic but even earlier phases of art and therefore it is possible that in Peruzzi it revived the ancient sense of beauty. Mr. Stillman defines Pelasgic Greek art as subordinating "all other elements to beauty, the expression of an ideal born of a distinct tho' half blind spiritual aspiration; the fine union of the intellectual and moral yearnings which have always distinguished the Greek art and life from that of Eastern nations." This is a good definition of Peruzzi's art as it is of Donatello's, both peculiarly distinct masters.

Whatever their source, Peruzzi possessed certain rare and individual powers of design, especially in architecture, that distinguish even his youthful works, and the characteristics of his riper productions are so entirely his own that it is difficult to compare him fairly with other architects of his day.

All about Siena, there were in his boyhood, as now, within a radius of a few miles, interesting villages, and towns, superb fortresses, churches, bridges and villas. In the towns, and especially in Siena itself, inspiring works were then progressing and he was one inspired by them.

The Gothic work in Siena was of a notable type and its cathedral, practically finished in 1380, is one of the most original, instructive and beautiful

of the greater churches in Italy. Peruzzi's first recorded architectural and fresco work was done in it, and at intervals during his life he was busy there, on various additions and alterations.

Pini says that the first who influenced Peruzzi toward art was Bernardino Fungai (1460-1516) of the earlier Sienese school, and Berenson in "Central Italian Painters" names Giacomo Pacchiarotto as his first master, seven years his senior and also a pupil of Fungai's.

There are no verified stories of any early privations, except that his father was poor, but, in connection with his family discouraging an overpowering tendency to draw and paint, there is a tale that until he was twenty he pursued by their wish a mechanical occupation, which was painful and distasteful. He seems certainly to have possessed ability as a young man and became finally a decidedly good draughtsman as we know from his excellent drawings in the Uffizi at Florence, and in Siena, Rome, Milan, Turin, Berlin, Dresden, London, Paris, Vienna and New York. (Pl. 2 et al.)

These include all sorts of subjects from sea horses, cows, cherubs, saints, engineering projects, and architectural motives, churches, palaces, villas, etc., up to the beautiful anatomical studies, decorations, and the excellent drawings of his own head done with the firm sure line of a master who knew the proper use of cross-hatching. His handwriting is always so excellent that it forms almost perfect lettering on his plans, bringing to mind ancient manuscripts, and shows that the writer had considerable instruction or schooling from some source. He wrote a clear and really beautiful hand, in fact far better than that of most of his contemporaries, or later artists, and that he possessed other schooling is shown by the fact that he felt able, according to Papillon, to begin a Commentary on Vitruvius, and a Treatise on Architecture, and prepared drawings, and possibly manuscripts which his most famous pupil Serlio probably inherited, as we know he received part of the drawings and manuscripts.

Vasari explains Peruzzi's early proficiency by stating that he frequented the goldsmiths' shops, especially delighting in their work and that of other designers, and gave all his attention to drawing so that at his father's death he devoted himself to painting and made rapid progress, copying the best masters and yet (like Da Vinci) "giving his *chief attention to nature and living objects*". From the latter practice it is logical to believe he derived much of his strength and versatility.

At twenty he was a good painter, for in 1501 he designed the interior and painted, with Pintoricchio, the decorations of the chapel of San Giovanni in the Duomo. Milanese tells us that the actual chapel was begun in 1482, Romagnoli says that the chapel was "built" (probably completed) in 1504 from Peruzzi's designs, and it is recorded that he was paid 42 *lire* for as many days painting in the chapel, "per altrettanti giorni", August 15, 1501. This was a good beginning. Pintoricchio, one of the most fertile and splendid mural decorators of any age, fully appreciated both Raphael and Peruzzi.

He was born in Perugia in 1454, became a pupil of Perugino, executed famous works in Rome and was called later by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius III., about 1500, to decorate the Sacristy Library of the Duomo at Siena and the chapel of San Giovanni also. Some of his decoration here and at Rome following ancient art is modelled in slight relief and he made considerable use of gold and ultramarine blue. His appreciation of and his kindness to Raphael whom he brought with him from Perugia, have made certain writers attribute to Raphael most of the work in the Library, but it is fairly well established that Raphael's work ended with the cartoons, if indeed he did all of these, inasmuch as he departed for Florence in 1503-4 before the work was finished. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that none of the actual painting shows Raphael's handiwork.

We know that Pintoricchio, Bazzi (Sodoma) and Raphael were in Siena in 1500-1. The latter only seventeen years old, not yet freed from his Perugino mannerisms, and illiterate, Lanzi judges from a letter written in 1508, now in the Museo Borgia, Rome. This was addressed to the Duke of Urbino, asking him to use his influence with the Gonfaloniere Soderini, the friend of Amerigo Vespucci, to give him a commission in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence.

On the Sacristy Library walls are scenes from the life of Pius II. and the entire decoration is even now one of the most important in Italy, high in key but very harmonious in color, composition and ornament, besides being historically quite valuable. This work gives promise of what some of the artists were later to accomplish at Rome and elsewhere. It seems possible that Peruzzi also helped on the Library decoration, or at least was inspired thereby, especially since it is known that Pintoricchio did not finish the chapel of San Giovanni until 1503-4, or after the Library decorations, although the chapel, where we know Peruzzi worked, was begun in 1501.

In any event, it is likely that Peruzzi first met Raphael in Siena, and that then began that friendship and intimacy which continued in Rome, as proved by an existing document mentioned later herein. By association and study with men of such calibre, the Sienese artist must have learned much of decorative art and draughtsmanship in general.

Bazzi settled in Siena in 1501 after forming his style on that of Leonardo da Vinci. He was born in 1477 or 1479 at Vercelli, in the Piedmontese, and studied under Quercia, Giacomo della Fonte. His works in Siena are of wonderful beauty, especially the Scourging of Christ and the St. Catherine Swooning. Both Peruzzi and Beccafumi were influenced by him. Peruzzi said of the St. Catherine that he had "never seen a swoon so naturally represented."

Could man choose, it would be difficult for an artist to select a more auspicious place and time for his birth than Italy in the latter half of the XVth and beginning of the XVIth century. Here the mingled blood of Umbrian, Etruscan, Greek, Latin and Teuton sought ever greater expression in strenuous physical and mental activity.

Also in Europe generally, the energy of repressed thought was then manifesting itself; indeed, the claim is made that from Southern France came an early and notable manifestation of the Renaissance increased by the persecution and dispersion of the cultivated heretical sects.¹

But however and wherever the Renaissance actually began it gained its chief force from the sacking of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks under Mahomet II. and the scattering of its treasures of art and literature over Europe. A year later Gutenberg had successfully used movable type in printing and now before the century closed the Renaissance was well advanced toward its highest phase.

For architects the most clearly marked beginnings had been Brunelleschi's early initiation of Renaissance architecture at Florence in the Pazzi chapel, 1430; in San Lorenzo, 1431 and in the solving of his problem of the dome of the cathedral in 1420-36. Alberti, too in his church for Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini, 1446-55; in Sant' Andrea at Mantua and in the excellent Rucellai palace at Florence had proved himself one of the most gifted and original of the earlier architects.

When Peruzzi was about three years old Sixtus IV. died and Innocent VIII. became Pope; in 1492, when he was eleven, the Spaniards took Granada from the Moors. Later the same year, Innocent VIII. died, Roderigo Borgia ascended the papal chair as Alexander VI., and Columbus landed on San Salvador.

Into such a world came Peruzzi to feel even in his corner of it at Siena, the inspiration of the age. In architecture he probably recognized the great work of Brunelleschi and of Alberti in proving that the soul of classic art was capable of new life, by reviving from the remains of Rome the spirit of design, for, as Anderson truly says,² "Brunelleschi's designs were not mere copying of classic art but original, new forms based upon ancient example." Certainly Alberti's were also. In Peruzzi's boyhood Bramante was measuring, drawing and studying Roman and other remains, as Peruzzi himself was later most enthusiastically and fruitfully to do. It is hardly possible yet to compare properly Bramante's and Peruzzi's work, but the great complete life of Bramante, interrupted by the war of 1914, will possibly tell much about him that is now known to but few.

Peruzzi's works divide logically into three Periods or Styles, both in architecture and painting. The First Period from 1500 (or earlier) to 1508, is often marked by a certain Gothic reminiscence in detail even in mass, and shows the influence of Sienese designs and the instruction of Francesco di Giorgio in architecture, while in painting, the lingering effect of earlier art and of Pintoricchio's methods is quite clear. The Second Period from 1508 to 1522 is marked by the great progress which he made under Bramante and from the study of Roman and classic architectural remains generally in Italy, while Sodoma's and Raphael's style is in painting gradually

¹ "A New Light on the Renaissance", by Harold Bayley, London MCMIX.

² "The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy."

helping him to overcome certain mannerisms of Pintoricchio and the Sienese school. The Third and last Period extends from 1522, the date of his trip to Bologna, up to his death in 1536. During this last phase his advance in originality is distinct. The effect too of his previous experience is most emphatic.

In continuous succession we see in various cities his marvelous fortifications, palaces and modest private dwellings; in Siena, palaces and villas rivalling the best work of the Renaissance, while in Rome he excels most men in versatility and beauty, eclipsing all designers of domestic architecture in his superb conceptions. In painting he never excels his Ponzetti "*Madonna*" (of the Second Period) at Rome and the slight failing of his powers, altho' not marked, shows in the "*Sibyl*" (Third Period) in Fontegiusta, Siena. In all, a tremendous record of work is comprised in these years, especially when it is recalled that he was much of the time working with Bramante, and later for himself, on St. Peter's, and elsewhere was busy on private commissions.

Peruzzi's "*first architectural work*", according to Matas, was the church of San Sebastiano in the Via Vallepiatta, Siena (Pl. 6.). This, which Romagnoli also attributes to him, was begun in 1507 (Milanesi) and erected by the Weavers' Guild of which the elder Peruzzi as a weaver may have been a member. A sketch plan by Peruzzi is now in the Uffizi.

Near Siena the villa Chigi-Mieli, or Le Volte (The Vaults) as mentioned in letters of the day, is believed to be his work. (Pl. 7-8.) From the original owner, Sigismondo Chigi, it finally passed into the hands of Signor Mieli, who courteously allowed me to fully inspect it. A tablet on it bears the following inscription:

<i>Sigismun Chisius Hoc Curarum Refugium Extruxit</i>	<i>"Sigismondo Chigi built this refuge from cares.</i>
<i>A.D. M.D.V.</i>	<i>A.D. 1505"</i>

After Agostino Chigi's death in 1520, Sigismondo came to the Farnesina, Rome, and it was his wife "*Porzia*" who trusted Cellini on sight, gave him her diamonds to set when he was drawing from the Farnesina frescoes and generally flattered him, as he so naïvely sets forth in his autobiography. The plan of the Farnesina seems like an adaptation of that of the Chigi-Mieli villa, and other details of the latter also are like Peruzzi's later Roman work.

The Fonte Pescaia, Siena, is his, according to local tradition, but, if so, it belongs to this early period. Its brick details are most interesting. A fine house front on the Via del Corso, Siena, is also attributed to him, by Messrs. Grandjean and Famin.¹ A striking use of the round arch and a beautiful cornice appear in this building—altogether most attractive externally—but Professor Mariani, of Siena, thinks it may be earlier than Peruzzi's time.

¹ In "*L'Architectura Toscana*", Paris, 1806.

Peruzzi's writing in his sketch-book, now in the Siena Library, states, "It belonged to me, *baldasare perucio*, and I gave it to *Messer jacomò Melighino* and to *Messer pier antonio Salimbeni*."

Professor Herman Egger¹ believes that many of the sketches in this book are copies of Peruzzi's designs, possibly made by one of his pupils in 1580, and that it is probable that the copies of designs for fifteen triumphal arches, are the ones of which the forms, immediately after Peruzzi's death, were carried out by Antonio da San Gallo, The Younger, for the magnificent triumphal entry of Charles V. into Rome, April 5th, 1536. There are similar sketches of Peruzzi's in the Berlin Royal Gewerbemuseum.

It is barely possible that this "pupil" who copied the designs was Antonio di Lari ("Il Tozzo") whose work in Siena was closely modelled on his master's, but they may have been done by a certain Francesco da Siena who, Vasari says, possessed some of Peruzzi's drawings after his death. Perhaps it was Peruzzi's own drawing of himself that Francesco traced from the margin of this sketch-book and sent to Vasari for reproduction; it is not unlike the woodcut of the early editions of Vasari in some particulars, and this likeness Vasari states he received from Francesco, but the end of the nose and the cap in the woodcut are unlike the drawing.

Before he left Siena, Peruzzi was a good-looking, even picturesque character, full of enthusiasm, a maker of friends not only among his fellows, but including older and sedate men, such as Sigismondo Chigi and other Sienese who proved their friendship later. His was surely an inspiring, cultivated personality with something too of the spirit of the peasant who today sings at work in the field. No little of Italian kindness and courtesy show in his face. His dress at about this time, or soon after he got to Rome, indicates no disdain of bright colors or of style, but rather an appreciation of both within bounds, and a lightness of heart controlled by a certain serious determination evident in the strong mouth and nose.

All in all here was a figure to take both the eye and the heart of the men he was to meet in the Eternal City, men of taste, such as the friends of Bramante and Raphael, quick to see the beautiful. With what joyful anticipation then must he have set forth with his brotherly chum Pietro, to try his fortune among them, to share their joys and woes and help kindle there the glow that was to illumine the Golden Age! His star surely was in the ascendant! In that important journey every slight incident must have seemed an adventure, every jest a roaring joke, each meal at inn or under hedge a banquet, the skies were never before so blue, the sun so bright, while the very birds sang especially to them from field and vineyard. Did they walk or ride on that trip over four hundred years ago? We shall never know, but it is not unlikely that Agostino and Sigismondo Chigi helped speed them on their way from glowing Siena, Siena to which Peruzzi especially was often to turn for honors and even for shelter, Siena which never once forgot or ill-treated him.

¹ "Entwürfe Baldassare Peruzzi", Wien.

CHAPTER II

ROME—1503-1511

At Rome in 1503, where his friend Pietro da Volterra had been employed, painting in the Vatican by Pope Alexander VI., young Peruzzi was also engaged in the same work. After Alexander's death, this same year, 1503, Francesco Piccolomini of Siena became Pope Pius III, who also dying this year was succeeded by Giuliano della Rovere of Albissola, as Pope Julius II., a most fortunate accession for the fortunes of certain artists in Rome, for then began the "Golden Days" so well described by Lanciani. Pietro then, according to Vasari was no longer employed in the Vatican, and Peruzzi succeeded in entering the workshop of the father of the painter Maturino, later the partner of Polidoro da Caravaggio, where, altho' Vasari's story of Peruzzi's first painting of the Madonna for his master is interesting, he could hardly have been inspired later by Maturino's father, a busy but not famous craftsman. However, his acquaintance with Maturino and Caravaggio may have developed his later talent as a great designer in fresco and the decoration of façades in *terretta*. The story goes that Peruzzi was given a prepared panel and asked to paint a Madonna, whereupon without having previously made a cartoon, he produced a picture which was much admired. In the Accademia delle Belle Arti at Siena, is a painting, representing the Madonna and Child, the latter holding a pomegranate, and little St. John looking on. This has been recognized by Mr. Berenson as an early work of Peruzzi formerly attributed to Pintoricchio.¹ The background is covered with a decorative pattern in tooled gold leaf. If this is Peruzzi's, which is not at all improbable, it shows him capable of good work even then, and gives an idea of the early style which, according to Vasari, so pleased his Roman friends. His Roman dwelling in these days was probably where most of his confreres lived in the Borgo Vecchio, a quarter convenient for workers at the Vatican, and later, in 1511, he perhaps lived elsewhere.

When Peruzzi arrived there were a few painters of ability in Rome, and Müntz says that his presence stimulated the small colony to better work. Peruzzi, in spite of Pietro's dismissal, must have worked at the Vatican, from his arrival, off and on, until 1507-8, when Raphael arrived and took general charge of the decorations by order of Pope Julius II. This work had already attracted Bazzi (Sodoma), Perugino, Pintoricchio, Signorelli and Lorenzo Lotto, Lo Spagna, Jan Ruysch the Fleming, Andrea Veneto, etc. Bazzi was decorating the Camera della Segnatura, the second room of the Stanza, in 1508, when on the 15th of October, he was discharged with a payment of 50 ducats, as also were Perugino and Signorelli, between 1508 and 1509. In spite of his orders to obliterate the work of his predecessors, Raphael re-

¹ Also so attributed by Ricci.

tained the grotesques of Bazzi, some of Perugino's work and of Peruzzi's considerable of his ceiling in the Camera d'Eliodoro which Baldassare finished later, all except a small portion done by another assistant of Raphael. Copies of the work destroyed were made by Raphael, for what purpose it is hard to imagine, unless for comparison with his own designs, and these copies were afterward collected by P. Giovio in his Como museum.

About 1503-9 or a little later, Peruzzi made the design for and built at least part of the church of San Rocco-à-Ripa, (Pl. 9) Rome, and decorated two of its chapels. A sketch of the plan and front is in the Uffizi. Crowe and Cavalcaselle date the decorating "shortly after 1517." At this period, to 1504-5, he went to Ostia, where for Cardinal Riario he decorated rooms in the fortress with the assistance of Cesare da Sesto of Milan. One of the subjects was the Three Graces of which Frizzoni says he saw a remnant in the Chigi palace in Rome, and it is now in that collection. He also did for Julius II., in the Vatican, in a new aviary near the roof, the decoration of a corridor, showing the months and seasons, introducing innumerable edifices, theatres, amphitheatres, palaces, etc.¹ (This is now destroyed, as is a casino in the Vatican, designed by him in 1512 for Pope Julius II.²

A most interesting document, proving the friendship of Raphael and Peruzzi at this period is mentioned by Marco Minghetti, in his life of "*Raphael*." Of this document he was informed by N. Corvisieri, (*Nuova Antologia*, 2nd series No. 39, 1883—Note to p. 613). Minghetti gives it as follows: (Translated) "In an ancient ledger of the chief fraternity of the Lombardi near the Church of S. S. Ambrogio e Carlo in Via del Corso (Rome), there is the following record—'Two houses left by the Cardinal Alessandrino in 1509, were leased by the Hospital until the second generation to the brothers (sic) Baldassare and *Pietro Peruzzi*, painters, *Raphael Sanzio da Urbino going security for the repairs* as shown by the lease dated November 18, 1511, with the attestation of Andrea de' Persis, notary.' The deed recorded in a vellum volume is still preserved in the archives of this chief chapter of the fraternity. But being left several days under water with many other documents of this library in an inundation which occurred during the pontificate of Clement VIII., it is in great part illegible, but the account book memorandum, of which I have spoken above, testifies to its substance."³

This as Minghetti says is a most important communication, not only on account of the revelation of the intimacy existing between Raphael and Peruzzi, but also for another fact, the value of which Minghetti apparently does not realize, i.e. because it alludes to Peruzzi having a brother Pietro, whom even Milanesi does not mention in his chart of the Peruzzi family. It would seem from this that possibly Peruzzi's brother was also a painter and worked with him in Rome in 1511, unless it was indeed Pietro da Volterra who took Peruzzi's name. It also is interesting, although not

¹ Vasari.

² Matas.

³ "*Raffaello*". M. Minghetti (note on p. 111) N. Zanichelli, Bologna, 1885.

proving any relationship, that Raphael's great grandfather who fled from the sack of Colbordolo by Sigismondo Malatesta, was named *Peruzzolo Santi*, but undoubtedly Raphael's friendship for Peruzzi grew wholly from his appreciation of the latter's character and ability as an artist, for Raphael's ability to recognize and appreciate the great gifts of other men is notable.

Of Peruzzi's exact personal appearance at about this period it is fortunately easy to form an idea by the discovery of his oil portrait of himself. (Frontispiece.) From this it is clear that he was rather thin than stout, his face serious almost to severity, complexion clear and light, eyes dark and piercing, hair, beard and moustache brown. He wore his hair long, falling to the shoulders and it was very slightly wavy, parting in the middle over his forehead. The dress and especially the black velvet cap recall Raphael. The vest is greenish blue, one of Peruzzi's favorite colors, set off by a border of orange color and tied up the front with three knots of dark ribbon. The mantle is dark and the shirt edged with lace reaches to the top of the shoulders. Altogether the face is that of an artist of unusual refinement, beauty and strength of character. It is the only oil portrait of him known, and was found in northern Italy.

The semi-domed apse of the church of San Onofrio al Gianicolo contains Peruzzi's first decoration in Rome outside the Vatican. This commission was said to have been secured for him early by his Roman friends and admirers. It is pronounced by Frizzoni,¹ to be entirely Peruzzi's work. Pintoricchio and Sodoma then influenced him in painting, as did Alberti and Bramante in architecture, yet his style in a building or a picture, is always distinctly his own, altho' showing traces of his study of others' work. He never merely imitated, and this is proved by the fact that the characteristic faults of others are seldom to be found in his designs. Nowhere, for instance, do we notice in his paintings any of the exaggeration of size, form, or muscle that critics remark in Michel Angelo's work as marking the beginning of the decadence, and yet he also must have admired Buonarroti's figures greatly and felt their influence. His architectural designs too show ever increasing knowledge and power up to the very end of his life.

With Pintoricchio he painted in San Pietro in Montorio, a fresco. The Four Virtues, a Coronation and David & Solomon the latter very decorative and full of dignity.

In these early Roman days, Vasari says, he painted several apartments in the palace of San Giorgio, for the Cardinal Raffaello Riario, Bishop of Ostia, in company with other painters, and various paintings on a front opposite the palace of Messer Ullisse da Fano and on the front of the latter palace "stories from the life of Ulysses". All these have vanished, but in the Uffizi there is a design, Milanese says, touched up in white, for the front of a palace; also he did a front, now destroyed, in *terretta* with views in perspective, situated between the Campo di Fiore and the Piazza Giudea.

¹ "Il Buonarroti", March 1871 (art journal), under the title "Di Alcune Opere di Disegno du Rivendicare al Lora Autore, l'Artista Sanese, Baldassare Peruzzi".

In 1503-13, according to Frizzoni, he designed the present excellent mosaics in the crypt of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, which have been much praised. (Pl. 10.) Albertini,¹ however, writes of them, in 1500, so either they, or earlier counterparts, must have been there then. The sacristan tells visitors that these mosaics are earlier work and were restored, but gives no authority, and authorities state definitely that they were Peruzzi's. They are very poorly lighted. The background is gold mosaic, in the centre is Our Saviour, the Four Evangelists in four ovals at the sides, and above are the Making of the Cross, four Saints and the kneeling figure of the donor, Cardinal Carvajal.

In architecture, Bramante, whom he probably met through Raphael, soon after he reached Rome, must have seemed to him the great architectural scholar and savant, as well as the inspired architect whose work revealed very clearly the value and the necessity of a schooling from the antique, but altho' Bramante's influence is evident, Peruzzi is always himself. He worked for and with Bramante before 1506, collaborating on all the designs for St. Peter's before construction began, Von Geymüller says. Together, too, according to tradition, they designed the "Ospedale degli Eretici Convertiti", "the degli Eretici Ravveduti" near the Piazza of St. Peter's and the Vidoni or Giustiniani-Bandini palace (Pl. 11). Taking all this association with Bramante into consideration it is remarkable that Peruzzi was never afraid to depart from the classic, when necessary, but in so doing he was never lost, remaining always the great master of line, proportion, ornament and construction. His knowledge of classic art and story, his innate sense of proportion and scale, his noted mastery of perspective wherein he excelled, constantly produced the most inspiring works even when in designing the exterior of a building he wholly abandoned the orders, as he often did. So carefully did he keep proportions in mind that even his solid plain walls, as at Siena, never lacked classic feeling and striking virility.

Although we can imagine from Piranesi's grand series of etchings made between 1741 and 1778, and from other works, how even more interesting than those prints were the remains of Rome when Peruzzi first saw them in a better state of preservation, still it is difficult now to fully appreciate the enthusiasm that these ruins awoke in the artists of his time. Peruzzi, like all most thorough and serious students, measured and studied everywhere such monuments as he could, and even, as already stated, began a treatise thereon and made drawings for it. It is evident that wherever he could find an early building or ruin, he made a graphic note of it, often with careful measurements and always in an interestingly appreciative way. He evidently traveled considerably and his sketches still extant show that he made drawings in and near numerous cities of Italy. Undoubtedly too time has destroyed many others of his sketches. He was enabled to afford this study partly in the usual course of his work and partly through the help given him by Agostino Chigi, also of Sienese origin, whose friendship for

¹ In "De Mirabilibus Novae et Veteris Urbis Romae".

Peruzzi was marked by many other evidences of appreciation of his fellow-townsmen's genius.

On April 18th, 1506, the corner stone of St. Peter's was laid and the huge construction was begun from Bramante's gigantic plan. This design showed the influence of his friend Leonardo da Vinci's studies for domed churches and finally proved too much for even the great resources of the Church to finish. The troubles attending the reconstruction of its foundations later consumed months of Peruzzi's time which otherwise employed, had a better plan been chosen, would have yielded him greater architectural fame.

About 1508-9 Agostino Chigi commissioned him after his return from Ostia to design the splendid villa or palace and accessory buildings in Trastevere, Rome, known formerly as the Chigi, or Lungera, and now called the Farnesina (Pl. 12) which Chigi built for his "beloved Imperia". Peruzzi began this in 1509, probably finishing the architectural part in 1511, although Cugnoni says 1510. No student of architecture and painting in Rome who appreciates Peruzzi, Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo and Sodoma misses seeing it, for these and other great artists were employed in its completion. It is E shaped in plan, "an elegant crypto-portico beloved of the ancients". A rough sketch plan of the large portico or hall opening on the garden and a rough general exterior perspective and details, are now in the Uffizi, but all the formerly open porticos now have windows in the arches.

The materials of the building are brick and peperino, a stone formed of volcanic ashes, and the exact tones are so obliterated by weathering and ruin that it is impossible to imagine the original color effect, for stucco apparently covered all the brickwork. The external *terretta* decoration which Peruzzi here and elsewhere used and carried almost to perfection, is executed by incising the design upon a coat of fresh plaster and filling in the sunken lines with black or white made of argillaceous earth (whence *terretta*) found in Rome and near Florence, and with charcoal and powdered travertine. Lights and shadows are obtained by judicious use of the filling. There is also a similar process called *sgraffito*, done by putting a thin light colored coat over a dark background and scratching the design upon this through to the dark ground. It has already been hinted that his great ability in this method was probably helped by his association with the masters Maturino and Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio who did not surpass him, altho' Caravaggio was later very famous.

The beautiful and originally treated exterior frieze (Pl. 13) of the Farnesina was copied with variations thirty years later by Sansovino on his library of St. Mark, Venice, as well as used by others. The introduction of windows between the ornament of the frieze was an original idea of Peruzzi's, as far as critics can discover, but the children with garlands of fruit form a classic motive often used, altho' it may have been directly suggested to him at this time by the base of the tomb of Ilaria del Caretto in the Duomo at Lucca. This was by Della Quercia (1374-1478), of Siena,

whose work was highly appreciated there. There is moreover, a noticeable likeness between the profile of Ilaria and that of the Sibyl in Peruzzi's fresco at Fontegiusta Church at Siena, which gives color to the above supposition. Peruzzi himself often repeated the motive of his Farnesina frieze, sometimes inserting the windows without ornament.

Baron Von Geymüller in "*Raffaello Studiato Come Architetto*", disputes Peruzzi's authorship of the Farnesina design and ascribes it to Raphael, but Vasari says that Peruzzi "prepared the model which he executed in the graceful manner we now see", and other writers, as well as tradition, have pronounced it to be Peruzzi's.

Fabio Chigi, confirms Vasari and says also that not only the Farnesina, but its stables were designed by Peruzzi, and adds, "he (Agostino Chigi) gave Baldassare Peruzzi a coadjutor in the person of Raphael and consulted others to control them."¹ This appears true on the face of it because it distinctly reveals the keen business methods of this shrewd Italian banker.

It is probably due to the intimacy and association of Peruzzi and Raphael on certain works that it has been, and is, difficult to give each his due credit. This is especially true as to the church of Sant' Eligio, and the Chigi Chapel. Peruzzi's style, however, is clearly evident in the architecture of the Farnesina, while a large part of the decoration inside and out was also his work. Indeed, Raphael was quite busy and engrossed in other labors for Pope Julius II. most of the time during the building of the Farnesina.

In a discussion following the reading of Mr. Bedford's paper on Peruzzi before the Royal Institute of British Architects,² it was stated that Geymüller does not prove his case and that Dean Aldrich of Christ Church, Oxford, in the last century and a great authority and logician, unhesitatingly attributed the Farnesina to Peruzzi. In London, the design of Dorchester House, Park Lane, is based on the Farnesina.

Mr. J. Hubert Worthington states in a scholarly essay on Peruzzi in the *R. I. B. A.* journal of October, 1913, that the porch of Santa Maria in Domnica (Pl. 14), (Navicella), Rome, of 1513-14 which is proved conclusively by his Uffizi sketches to be Peruzzi's, shows a spacing of the pilasters corresponding with those of the Farnesina and their mouldings are alike; also in the Palazzo Ossoli by Peruzzi, the two upper stories correspond with the Farnesina in general proportions and treatment, especially in spacing of pilasters, and in profiles of mouldings on the capitals in the court. Buildings at Siena show that Peruzzi often repeated his details.

Over the entrance to the Farnesina is an antique piece of ancient Roman ornament of Greek character, peculiarly an indication of Peruzzi's work, as is seen over the door of his Ossoli palace (Pl. 15-16) over the door in the loggia of his palace in Via Giulia (Pl. 14); over the door in his Pietro Massimo court and elsewhere. No writer has drawn attention to this use

¹ "Memoir of Agostino Chigi".

² Journal of the *R. I. B. A.*, November 1901 and October 1902, pp. 165-182.

before, as being a mark of Peruzzi's authorship, but it occurs in so many of his works as to be almost a sign manual.

Besides these similarities there is the above mentioned villa Chigi, now Mieli (Le Volte) (Pl. 8) near Siena, credited to Peruzzi, which in general outline of plan is E shaped and otherwise suggests the Farnesina.

Moreover, the Chigi family were especially friendly to Peruzzi, indeed it would seem much attached to him by his undoubted genius and what they knew of his origin. The Villa Vicobello too (Pl. 17) for the Chigi family, near Siena, was designed by him and the aforesaid remnant of his fresco at Ostia of the Three Graces, inspired by the marble group in the Piccolomini Library, Siena, was brought to Rome by one of the Chigi family to be preserved in the Chigi palace: also Agostino Chigi helped Peruzzi in pursuing his studies at Rome, Vasari states, "but more particularly relating to architecture". It is in this connection quite significant that Chigi must have fully appreciated his architectural ability as he helped him to study *architecture*, not decorative painting nor astrology, nor engineering, in all of which Peruzzi was also skilled and greatly interested. In the "Lettere Senese" by G. Della Valle, Rome, 1785, a rare book which possibly Geymüller never knew, there is printed a letter by D. Sigismondo Chigi, entitled "Notizie di Baldassare Peruzzi", showing again the constantly recurring interest of the Chigi family in Peruzzi's career. It was too for Chigi's town of Port' Ercole that in 1531 Peruzzi designed casemates. Thus all along we see his constant association with the Chigi family.

Geymüller gives in "Raffaello Studiato etc." the design of the stables for which, he claims, Raphael gave the architectural order (according to Vasari's "Raphael") but Vasari and Geymüller omit entirely the clear statement of Fabio Chigi mentioned above. The lodge design on the Tiber's bank is also restored by Geymüller, but he fails to note how much the arches, alternating with pilasters, on this and on the open porticos of the villa, suggest Peruzzi's "*L'Apparita*" or farmhouse near Siena, and his little chapel outside the Porta Camollia, and the Porta itself.

Finally, Milanese made exceedingly careful researches and attributed the design of the Farnesina to Peruzzi. In fact the evidence, both architectural and literary makes the palace, stables and lodge his creations.

Hung with tapestries, the fine stables were later used as a banquet hall and in 1518 were practically demolished, which was also the fate of the lodge at an unknown date.

On the second floor (*piano nobile*) of the Farnesina, Peruzzi decorated, possibly in 1511-12, the first room, No. 1 (Baedeker), with the famous architectural views of the Borgo, the Janiculum and Rome, seen apparently between dark, marble columns. These views are fine examples of illusive painting. The mythological frieze of this room, containing the Triumph of Venus, Apollo driving the Chariot of the Sun, etc., is his also, for as a classical scholar fond of work of this sort he was one of its chief illustrators. Pietro Aretino praised these decorations, saying, "The Palace contained no

more perfect picture of its kind". Bazzi of Siena, in 1511-12, also painted in room No. 11, adjoining, a masterpiece, the Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, even now very fine in color. Of the Palace and its decorations Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that Peruzzi "had already realized what Raphael in later years was but hoping to attain—the "fine form of the edifices of antiquity", and that Guido's Aurora in the Rospigliosi palace is not so classically pure as Peruzzi's Apollo driving the Chariot of the Sun. Vasari, one of its earliest admirers, said of the villa "it was not built but born".

Peruzzi later painted, and completed in 1518, the ceiling of the first story room or portico next the Tiber. This represents the Nymph *Callisto* as the charioteer in the constellation of Perseus; in fourteen pointed arches of the vaulting are other constellations; in ten hexagonal spaces the signs of the Zodiac and the Gods of the Seven Planets mostly in groups. The lunettes are by Sebastiano del Piombo, representing Ovid's Metamorphoses, but according to Frizzoni, one lunette also that differs from the others, a large head in dark crayon, was by Peruzzi (some say by Piombo) and not by Michel Angelo. The other tale, which seems improbable, was that Michel Angelo visiting the Farnesina to see how Raphael was progressing, sketched this grand head to indicate how he thought Raphael should work as to scale. This would have been rather an uncalled-for act on Michel Angelo's part, besides, the head is not in the room that Raphael decorated. Bracciolini in his poem written about the Farnesina in 1627 does not connect Michel Angelo with this design but says "Grand thing is art! And those know who have seen the head drawn in charcoal in the loggia of the Chisi, to which even the brush of Raphael is inferior".¹ Bazzi and other Sienese painters did the pilaster arabesques, and according to Grüner, Gaspard Poussin later did the landscape work above the doors and windows, but this has been disputed. Maratta retouched unsuccessfully the decorations of this room.

Vasari relates that Titian and he visited this portico room in the Farnesina and admired Peruzzi's perspective painting of ornament on the ceiling and Titian could hardly be persuaded that it was not in actual relief, and was only undeceived by changing his point of view. The effect even today makes this story credible.

Raphael in 1514 also personally painted here the decoration of Galatea borne over the sea in a shell with attendant tritons, nymphs and cupids, and Sebastiano del Piombo on the left of it painted Polyphemus singing to Galatea. In the eighteenth century the latter work was ruined by attempted restoration. The paintings of this room form one of the most successful examples of mural decoration, wonderfully harmonious in color and, as a whole, better in tone than Raphael's famous decorative (but restored) story of Cupid and Psyche painted later than his Galatea, in the adjoining hall or portico, which has for many years been the noted room of the palace, some visitors not even knowing of Peruzzi's work in the next room toward

¹ "The Farnesina", A. Venturi.

the Tiber, or in the other room toward the Corsini palace, and in room No. 1 on the second story, the latter being for years attributed to others.

In the room on the first floor toward the Corsini palace he painted a frieze of gods and goddesses, fables of mythology, children, tritons and river-gods. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say, "Nothing can be more fancifully or more powerfully handled than this graceful and well arranged series, nothing more like Peruzzi than the plastic nature and action of the figures. It is the work of a man who has studied Michel Angelo and Raphael without abandoning his own originality, who has become chastened by contact with great contemporaries". But better than this, it is the work of a man who had gone to the same classical sources as they and interpreted and grasped the principles for himself. All his work at the Farnesina justifies the praise of Eugene Müntz, who wrote, that, "of the architects who sought fortune at Rome he was the most elegant, the most refined, the most independent".

Little if any comment has ever been made on Baldassare's keen judgment of men, his quiet but strong resentment of ill-treatment and his evident sense of humor which were probably developed considerably by his experience during the building of the Farnesina. It was impossible that a man of such natural powers of observation could meet associates and clients such as his, and not become discerning and appreciative as well as fond of a joke. That he was all these is proved by one of his drawings, discussed as follows: The Catalogue of the Louvre, 1841, says that Mariette and the prelate Bottari go further than Vasari in the interpretation of a certain design by Peruzzi of an Allegory of Mercury, formerly in Mariette's collection but now in the Louvre, and mentioned by Vasari at the end of his "Life of Peruzzi". Mariette and Bottari "think that Peruzzi in a fit of ill humor against misfortune and the injustice of his time made therein a satire of artists more occupied in amassing wealth than in studying the secrets of art; he, at the same time, rendered justice to several celebrated virtuosi (who are) solely occupied with the means of instructing themselves and becoming distinguished by their works. In the group at the left of the spectator they recognize by his decorous bearing, by the beauty of his features and his youth, Raphael talking with a man of letters; his page, plaguing a little dog with a bellows of which the master has scorned to avail himself, appears to have been put into the scene only to show the stately life of this master (i.e. in having a page). Michel Angelo is in front of him and is talking with Fra Bastiano del Piombo who is clad in a long robe in his character of Keeper of the Seals of the Papal Chancery. This painter turns his head toward Michel Angelo and seems to hesitate to advance toward the statue (of Mercury). Giovanni da Udine equally beloved by Michel Angelo and Raphael appears to them to be he who carries his hand familiarly on the shoulder of the first. At a place more distant at the right of the spectator Peruzzi is talking with a friend. His head although of a small size does not in the least resemble the portrait placed at the beginning of his "Life".

"Mariette and Bottari believed that they recognized in the doctor who holds an alembic, carries glasses on his nose and a hood on his head, the caricature of A. San Gallo, The Younger, an architect very persistent in claiming for himself all undertakings to acquire wealth and honors. Finally the stout, bald man armed with the long pincers seems to them to resemble Bramante whose great avidity equalled his talents. The prelate Bottari does not think he has exhausted all the discoveries which this composition offered him. He is satisfied to put people upon the track who would try to make new ones".

Inasmuch as Peruzzi would hardly have caricatured Bramante after his death, which took place in 1514, it is almost certain that this drawing was made before that date and probably after he had finished the actual construction work of the Farnesina and learned the characteristics of Piombo and San Gallo.

CHAPTER III

ROME—1511-1514

The decorations of the Farnesina must have been well along by 1510 for they were first described in 1511 by Gallus Egidius,¹ and later by Biagio Palladio in "*Suburbanum Augustinii Ghisii*". The latter praises not Raphael's Galatea (1513-14) but Peruzzi's Venus (1511-12). In 1693 N. Dorigny made the best set of prints of the decorations ever published, now very rare.

In 1519, some years after the Farnesina was finished, Siena then becoming famous for its players, Agostino Chigi and his wife Francesca, engaged a Siennese company of actors to play in Rome and probably at this Trastevere villa.

The Farnesina holds its present name from its purchase by the Farnese family in the middle of the sixteenth century. They sold it in 1731 to Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, and in 1860 it was leased for ninety-nine years by Francesco II to Bermudez de Castro, Duke of Ripalda, who died in 1883. He is mentioned in "*The Courts of Memory*" by Madame de Hegermann-Lindencrone (nee Lillie Greenough) who with friends took tea in the Farnesina gardens.

In the Chigian library at Rome is a medal of Agostino Chigi, of which Venturi gives a print in his book on the Farnesina. Lanciani² mentions another excellent likeness in Pier Leoni Ghezzi's volume of original drawings in the office of the Curator of Antiques, British Museum. The life of this famous financier reads like a romance, and is of special interest in connection with his friendship for Peruzzi.

Born about 1465 at Siena, he was the founder of the Roman branch of the family of Chigi, the son of a prosperous tradesman, and coming young to Rome was well established at twenty years of age.

Beginning as an art lover he gradually became a great collector and hundreds were helped by his generosity. Great wealth came through his ability as a corn merchant, banker and owner of alum mines at Agnano and Ischia and of others discovered in 1462 at Monte Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia, where he built a church; also through working the Papal and Neapolitan salt mines. The alum mine privileges he took away from Lorenzo de Medici by wheedling Pope Leo X., and nevertheless retained the friendship of the Medici family. As one of the most notable men of Italy, both financially and socially, he was given charge of the Papal finances by Pope Julius II., until the Sultan called him "the great merchant of all Christianity". An apostolic notary and epitomist, he also conferred diplomas,

¹ In "*De viridario Augustini Chigi patritii Senensii, libellus Galli Egidii Romani poe. laur.*"

² In "*Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*".

mitres and cardinals' hats. Judging by contemporary accounts, he was a man of good taste and broad sympathies, extremely shrewd, diplomatic and interested in the men and the events of his day; a royal money maker and an equally royal spender and host. His power was incredible, for he backed Caesar Borgia with his financial aid in that leader's war against Urbino, and loaned the Venetian republic the value of 125,000 scudi; secured the privilege of admission to the "Serenissima" and was allowed to sit beside the Doge in the Senate, so that even at Julius' request the Republic would not free two of Chigi's debtors, and when one escaped to Turkey, the Sultan as a favor sent him back a prisoner to Rome. With his own ships sailing many seas under his personal flag; owning many villas on the Campagna, the Serpentina outside the Porta Salaria, Castel Giuliano bought of the Corsini, and Sirano, Fiorano, Scorrano, Leprignano, San Pancrazio, and Pontemolle, he established his central banking house at Rome to direct eventually a hundred branches through Italy, besides others at Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, Lyons and London, etc. and his affairs kept about twenty thousand people at work. He also ruled like a king at Castel Vacone, Atessa and Port' Ercole and owned the fishing of the lake Fucino and of Fogliano.

Julius II. was like a brother to him, for in addition to entrusting him with the Papal finances, he gave him the privilege of adding to his coat of arms the Della Rovere "Oak" with golden acorns, as if Chigi was one of his own family and borrowed 400,000 scudi from him on the richly jewelled Papal mitre "il Regno" as collateral. When Alfonso I. of Este interfered with Chigi's interests, Julius made war upon Alfonso.

Leo X. was present at Chigi's marriage and later baptized his son. It was Chigi who, in 1507, had Bramante design for him a triumphal arch to Julius II., on his return from war, and who later composed the lines on another arch erected after the election of Leo X. i.e. "Formerly Venus ruled, then Mars, now Pallas holds her sway!" referring successively to Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. Living figures representing Olympic deities stood in the niches, and a nymph recited verses to the passing Pope.

With an income estimated at \$700,000 a year (70,000. gold ducats) Chigi's entire life in Rome was on such a scale as to attach to him the title which Cugnoni repeats in an interesting work, "Agostino Chigi, Il Magnifico" (Rome 1881-83).¹ It was Chigi's encouragement which caused the printing, by Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo, of the works of Pindar,² the first Greek book printed in Rome. Chigi died in Rome in 1520. A descendant, Fabio Chigi, the writer of the "Memoir of Agostino Chigi", became Pope Alexander VII. in 1665 and Don Mario Chigi, a marshal of the Roman Church became later the head of the family in Rome.

The Chigi chapel (Pl. 19), in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, contains the tomb of Agostino. Vasari says that Chigi ordered it built "under the

¹ Also see Gregorovius "Geschichte der Stadt Rom." (English translation, London 1894-1900.)

² See Cugnoni, and Venturi also.

direction of Raphael", but Chigi and Raphael both dying, the entire project fell to Sebastian del Piombo and was neglected. As he was not primarily an architect he possibly turned for assistance to his friend Peruzzi whom he especially liked and trusted. Raphael also may have had earlier the assistance of Peruzzi. Geymüller published a plan of the chapel which he claims is by Raphael, but Peruzzi's detail also is evident in the chapel and its Corinthian order is remarkably like that of Peruzzi's which Serlio published. Lalande and Letarouilly believed that Peruzzi was the architect. Under the marble head of Chigi in profile is the following inscription:

AGOSTINO CHISIO
SENENSI
VIRO ILLUSTRIS
ATQUE MAGNIFICO
SACELLI HUIUS FUNDATORI
QUI OBIIT AN DOM MDXX

Another sketch of Peruzzi's in the Uffizi, is for a chapel in this same church (Pl. 20). Chigi built another chapel in S. M. della Pace.

It is easy to believe that with such a Macenas Peruzzi must have entered enthusiastically upon his architectural life at Rome.

Undoubtedly much of Peruzzi's Roman work was done before 1522 when he went to Bologna and other cities, and the church of Sant' Eligio or S. Alo degli Orefici (Goldsmiths) (Pl. 21) near the Tiber, a Greek cross in plan, was built about 1509, though some think later, probably by Raphael and Peruzzi, and perhaps principally by Peruzzi. It was rebuilt or much restored in 1601. Peruzzi had left the Vatican in 1509 to begin the Farnesina, and Raphael and he might naturally have associated on this church. Bramante also has been named as its architect. Mr. Worthington praises the interior, which is excellent in proportion, the arms having only a slight projection in plan and the height being two and one half times the diameter of the dome. The latter is carried on a drum set on pendentives.

Aristotile Sangallo made a drawing of the cupola and wrote on it "*Di Mo. Baldassare da Siena, Chiesa delj (i) Orifice in Rome de pezi lavatori di pietra piana*", (literal). Von Geymüller gives a reproduction of a drawing which he attributes to Peruzzi's son Sallustio, on which is written "*S. Alo degli Orefici in Strada Giulia. Inverso in fiume opera di Raff, di Urbino*". The cupola is somewhat like Peruzzi's design for that of San Petronio, Bologna.

Rome is often said by hurried travelers to possess few interesting palaces, but the contrary is true. In the older quarters of the city there are many which are peculiarly interesting, many by Peruzzi alone and some designed with an associate. They are full of instructive details and remarkable in the finished quality of plan and elevation. Of the numerous smaller palaces > and houses designed by Peruzzi for well-to-do Romans, who recognized his

great talent and were glad to avail themselves of it (probably knowing that he was an easier man to manage than Bramante or San Gallo), there are many still left, although others have probably disappeared in the changes of four hundred years. It is impossible to give the exact dates of all of these, but they may be roughly classified by the character of the respective designs, indicating his earlier and later styles. Treating of these dwellings, M. Leon Palustre in "*L'Architecture de la Renaissance*" has made the following observations;—

"The palaces (in Italy) are not the only buildings worthy of study. There are in most cities of some importance, dwellings of the second rank whereon much talent has been spent. This is not astonishing when one reflects that at Rome, for example, people of the middle class, knowing the good nature and unselfishness of Peruzzi, preferred to engage the services of the celebrated architect.

"Quatremère de Quincy who has made a special study of these façades, some with a shop on the ground floor, built in the different quarters of the city, expresses himself thus about them;—'These elegant designs, true models of a kind suited to a majority of owners, will always be the object of study by whomsoever shall wish to put the satisfaction of good architecture within the reach of the less wealthy. These are of the kind of buildings of which Poussin seems to have made a mental collection to adorn the backgrounds of his paintings and to compose those beautiful perspectives of ancient cities, which in more than one of his works, share with the figures the admiration of beholders.' And so on, in praise of the excellence of Peruzzi's work. He then adds, 'Works of this kind could never be too much studied by young architects, who, struck with the grandeur of ancient Rome, too often forget that cities are composed of dwellings and that their beauty depends more on good taste diffused by art in the simple arrangements of particular habitations, than in the erection of great monuments, of which many centuries will scarcely suffice to see the completion.'"

In the same vein Quatremère de Quincy further remarks: "The true connoisseur will pass without receiving any impression, before certain of these great palaces (referring to others than Peruzzi's) but he will feel himself involuntarily stopped by the appearance of the charming façades with which Baldassare Peruzzi has ornamented different dwellings of the more modest kind. The best constructions of Peruzzi, as of Palladio, are a sort of practical school of architecture which meets the necessities of even commercial cities".

In the Via Giulia, where hot-tempered Cellini so often walked and once outwitted a waiting assassin, near the church of S. Giovanni Fiorentini and next the former Collegio Bandinelli, is the palace by Peruzzi (Pl. 22) which Letarouilly so beautifully illustrates. It bears the inscription on a tablet over the central door inside, "*COSMO - MEDICI - DUCI FIOREN - II - PACIS ATQUE JUSTICIAE CULTORI*" - The little doorway (Pl. 14) in the entrance loggia of this palace and the doorway

of S. Michele-in-Bosco, Bologna (Pl. 51) were forerunners of his other perfect entrance, that to the Pietro Massimo palace. The front of the palace in Via Giulia was once richly decorated in bronze gilt, fresco and grisaille still discernible in 1823, but obliterated while the building was a cavalry barracks in 1845. The arched window in the niche contains a fountain. Anderson says that this arch with the square openings next it (Pl. 22) "foreshadows the 'motif a la Palladio'," as indeed the opposite end does also. The palace, judging from its style, was built between 1509 and 1512.

In 1513 Pope Julius II. died. This gave Chigi the chance to employ Raphael more unreservedly, altho Leo X., coming to the Papal chair proceeded to justify Chigi's prediction that during his reign art would come into its own and "Pallas reign supreme."

Letarouilly attributes to Peruzzi the large house No. 5 Via Governo Vecchio (Pl. 23) of which the detail corresponds in general to other dwellings of his design.

Also we may confidently ascribe to him the very interesting house or palace, Montalto, No. 7 Via Parione, almost unknown to students and critics. This was built early in his middle period and still has its Peruzzian entrance doorway and windows at each side, vaulted ceilings, courtyard with columns (now built in) and in the second story a fine triple arched loggia also partly closed with one window left in it, and a most beautiful, decorated vaulted ceiling. This still preserves its colors and details.

The house now belongs to the Society of the Piceni, a famous charitable society of Rome, and a description of it in "*Picenum, Revista Marchigiana Illustrata*", given the writer by the president of the society, states: "The building situated in Via Parione No. 7, is called the House of Sixtus V.,¹ and that it belonged to the family of the great pontiff is shown by the paintings which adorn the vaulted ceilings and wall, upon which is repeated the coat-of-arms of the Peretti, quartered with that of the Orsini, in compliment to Flavia of the house of the Peretti. She was a niece of Sixtus V., who lived here, and wife of Virgilio Orsini, a son of Paolo Giordano duke of Bracciano. In the first loggia (room on second story) from left to right the vaulted ceiling shows praiseworthy paintings. In the centre of the vault is pictured a group (Pl. 24) representing two Nymphs, and a Cupid who is struggling with a Satyr. In the spandrels of the smaller ends (of the vault) two well-drawn, beautifully painted nude female figures represent Morning and Night. Along the frieze occurring under the vault are ten lunettes in each of which is represented one of the nine Labors of Hercules and also a group of Hercules and Iole. In the spandrels between the lunettes are four mythological figures, of which one represents Ganymede and the Eagle of Jove, another Leda and the Swan. In the intermediate space between the frieze and the central group occur triangular spaces decorated in the manner of Giovanni da Udine."

¹ See also Luigi Callari—"I Palazzi di Roma"—Società Editrici Dante Alighieri. Roma, 1907.

The writer, Nada Peretti, records that the work is attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi, Giovanni da Udine, and (later) Taddeo Zuccaro. There is no record for whom the house was built, but I should say it was completed before 1515. There are some traces of restoration, but generally the frescoes are in wonderfully good condition, the drawing excellent and the colors harmonious. Many are of the best character of XVI century decoration and not well known. Certain frescoes which allude to the members of the Picini exalted by Sixtus V., and some others, must surely be later than Peruzzi's time, as Sixtus V. (Perretti) was Pope in 1585-90. The frescoes, however, of the vaulted loggia in the second story are probably all by Peruzzi and his associates, and of the date of the house itself, as are the frescoes of the early sixteenth century in a room on the ground floor, reached from the adjacent wine shop. This was formerly a loggia opening from the court of No. 7 and has a vaulted ceiling decorated with arabesques and *grottesche* showing the signs of the Zodiac, etc., with delicately drawn leaf borders and small figures, all fast fading away. This design is evidently inspired by the mural decorations of rooms discovered in the ruins of Rome, and Grüner in his *Fresco Decorations* etc., gives a fine colored plate of it with an account of other paintings in the house.

At nearly the same period Peruzzi probably did the paintings ascribed to him, on the ceiling of the chapel, also now owned by the Society of the Picini, adjoining the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome. They are three in number and illustrate Biblical subjects in which the postures, gestures, figures and coloring are strongly Peruzziian. Here he possibly worked with Salviati who painted the large fresco, "The Supper at Cana", (intact in 1914) at the end of the room.

The palace Savelli, now Orsini, was built by Peruzzi on a mound of debris in the Theatre of Marcellus and has been changed into a large apartment house. It still has many interesting remains of the ancient theatre and also some excellently carved and colored Renaissance ceilings, which repay study, and seem like Peruzzi's designs. The date of this building is possibly nearly the same as that of the house by him in the Via Montserratò which bears the quotation from Vergil, "*Trahit Sua Quemque Voluptas*", on the entrance door (Pl. 23) inasmuch as one doorway resembles the other.

Serlio says that in excavating for a house for the Massimi on this site many of the details of the Theatre of Marcellus were discovered by Peruzzi, from which he made out the complete plans as given in Serlio's book.

Several authorities ascribe to Peruzzi, a window and balcony of the Palazzo dei Convertendi on the Borgo Nuovo just beyond the Piazza Scossa Cavalli, and further along on the corner of Borgo S. Angelo, the Costa Palace (Pl. 25) (see Letarouilly) which is also attributed to Raphael and A. San Gallo.

The *palazetto* Spada (not the palace) is credited, by Burckhardt, to Peruzzi (Pl. 26) and Mr. J. H. Worthington advances the new and probably

true theory that the small palace (Pl. 23) adjoining the Lante Palace, on the Piazza Caprettari, is by Peruzzi, as the details are exactly in his vein, and like those of the Ossoli palace, with a rusticated doorway and details of the ground floor windows corresponding in proportions to those of that palace. As to the palace Lante itself, probably Sansovino, and not Peruzzi, designed it, as Letarouilly explains, but certainly, if so, in his "Peruzzi manner", done before he went to Venice. It was built by Pope Leo X. for Giuliano de Medici.

> On the contrary, the *Vigná* di Papa Giulio (III.) on the Vial Flaminia, not far from the Villa di Papa Giulio, is, as able critics assert and Mr. Worthington well proves, all from Peruzzi's plans (Pl. 27). The design itself must be later than that of his villa Mieli at Siena, which has the plan in contour of the Farnesina and the second story pilasters of this Vigna. The plan of the Vigna, brought to its present form not later than 1512, is given by Letarouilly, and the details are like Peruzzi's, especially in the interior pilaster capitals and in various mouldings, and the rustication of the entrance is like that of the Ossoli palace. It was begun by the uncle of Pope Julius III., Cardinal Antonio Fabiano di Monte, who died in 1533.

M. Ingres, the eminent French painter confirms the assertion of earlier authorities that in the Cancelleria palace the ceiling of a second story rear corner room, which is barrel-vaulted with penetrations, was decorated by Peruzzi with paintings of the Creation, etc. It is well given by Grüner and by Letarouilly. This seems to me one of the most beautiful ceilings in Italy if not in all Europe, in design, color, and detail; a work of exquisite refinement, but a special permit must be obtained in order to see it, as it is part of the residence of a Cardinal.

We know that Raphael's personal work in painting or architecture was confined frequently to the original sketch, its execution being often necessarily left to others, especially at the height of his fame and success in Rome, when Raimondi, so constantly spread his name by engravings of his paintings, but in most of Peruzzi's creations his personal hand is conspicuous, due to the fact that he so seldom collaborated and so often carried his own designs to completion. An instance of this occurred when, for a gorgeous banquet given to Giuliano de Medici on September 13, 1513, on his election to Roman citizenship and before he was made Commander of the Papal army, Peruzzi painted one of the six historical scenes done by six eminent painters.¹ His was ten *canne* (Vasari says seven) or forty-two feet high by three and one half *canne* wide, and represented the betrayal of the Romans by Julia Tarpeia. Vasari tells us it was considered the best of the six, which were shown on a stand in front of the Conservatori palace.

On March 11, 1514, Bramante died. During his last year he had had the assistance of Raphael and the aged Fra Giocondo da Verona. The work of St. Peter's was turned over to Raphael and Fra Giocondo in April

¹ Vasari apparently confuses the banquet (1513) with the later ceremonies (1515). See "*Giuliano de' Medici Eletto cittadino Romano etc.*", by Pasqualucci—Rome, 1881.

after Giuliano da San Gallo had declined it and, in August, Raphael having presented his design was made chief architect. It is logical to suppose that Peruzzi, if not helping then in the work, at least kept informed of its progress, as he was, although over modest, one who kept among men and affairs of the day. Earlier of course he must have known socially Bramante, at whose table he was a frequent guest, Bramantino, Raphael, Michel Angelo, Pintoricchio, Beccafumi, Sebastiano del Piombo, Bazzi (or Sodoma); and also Giovanni da Udine, Pierino del Vaga and Daniele da Volterra, (three men who worked under him in the Massimi palace); Giuliano Sangallo, Antonio Sangallo the Elder and also the Younger, Signorelli, Lotto, Sansovino, Sanmicheli, Serlio, Mantegna, Caravaggio, Maturino, Salviati, Vasari, and a host of other artists. Many other men prominent in Italian social life, such as members of the Pio family, Bindo Altoviti, the Massimi and many cardinals, were among his friends and clients.

It was Altoviti, whom Cellini describes as a combination of art-lover and over-keen man of affairs. He was born September 24, 1491, of a Florentine family, became wealthy and liberal toward art, making a famous collection of antiques in his Roman house on the Tiber only a short distance from Raphael's, at the end of the Sant' Angelo bridge. Peruzzi as well as Raphael painted his portrait. The former's is now in the Munich Gallery No. 1052, the latter's in the Monaco Gallery,¹ bought directly from the Altoviti family in 1808. Altoviti died January 22, 1558, after defeat in fighting against the Florentines.

With certain artists in Rome, Peruzzi associated on his own and other designs and buildings. It is, however, significant, and shows the high estimation in which he was held by clients, that both as architect and painter, he was oftener busy upon his own creations than employed to assist others. The most notable exceptions to this are his work as assistant to Bramante, and later alone and with Antonio Sangallo the Younger, on St. Peter's.

¹ "Raphael" by Minghetti.

CHAPTER IV

ROME-CARPI-TODI—1514-1522

While in Rome in 1513 or 1514, Peruzzi designed and then made a model for the Duomo of Carpi at the request of Alberto Pio da Carpi, whom he met about 1510. A letter from Pio to his agent dated May 9th, 1515, says he is sending the model. The interior of this church is imposing and monumental, due to its plan (Pl. 28) and proportions, which are really all that can now be called Peruzzi's. Bedford states, "The model was still preserved in the Cathedral in 1604, when Spaccini of Modena visited Carpi and wrote, 'His Highness went to the Cathedral of Carpi to see the model of that church designed by Baldassare of Siena'". Pizzoli of Carpi also attests the fact of its existence. The church was only partly built when Alberto Pio suspended the work so that his other church of S. Niccolò might be completed, and afterwards war prevented finishing the Duomo so that it "remained uncompleted until 1606". There is no record of the destruction of the model which may yet come to light in some forgotten corner. Certain details of this cathedral appear to be much later than Peruzzi's time, and the colors of the decoration are restored. It gives a fair idea, however, of what Peruzzi could have done architecturally had he lived to build St. Peter's.

Carpi is an interesting town about nineteen miles north of Modena. It contains even now much excellent architecture testifying to the taste of Alberto Pio who was a pupil of Aldus Manutius and a patron of Ariosto. The splendid portrait of him painted by Peruzzi in 1516 is in the collection of Dr. Mond, of London. In 1523 he was declared a rebel and deprived of his estate by Prospero Colonna and was banished by Charles V. in 1525, his house in Rome being burned in the sack of 1527. His famous effigy, a reclining figure,¹ is now in the Louvre.

There is considerable work in Carpi which suggests Peruzzi's hand or influence, and on one of the colonnades, the High Portico (Pl. 31) next to the main or long "galleria", is an archivolt moulding which is almost an exact duplicate of the mouldings of one of the arches of the porch of S. Michele in Bosco, at Bologna, where Peruzzi's decided quirk on the ogee moulding is found. This frequent and peculiar ogee of Peruzzi's is noted by Anderson in Peruzzi's work generally.

Semper says, in his "Carpi", "The archivolt of the small arches on the façade of 'La Sagra' (the old cathedral) corresponds to that of the arches of the High Portico. The capitals also show similar designs. But also between the members of the church front and of the High Portico on the

¹ Illustrated in Müntz, "Le Fin de la Renaissance".

one hand and those of the *castle courtyard*, on the other, there exists an unmistakable relationship of profiles of mouldings, especially in the architraves and cornices". All of which are due to Peruzzi's influence, if they are not his actual works. The upper story of the castle front with niches between pilasters also seems characteristic of him.

The nave of the church of San Niccolò (Pl. 29), a most original plan in its successful alternation of domes and barrel vaults over the bays of the side aisles, it is said was based on San Pietro at Modena. Campori states, "The authorities have recognized, in this noble and magnificent church (San Niccolò at Carpi), the pure and graceful style of Baldassare Peruzzi" and also that Peruzzi was probably the author of the model which Alberto Pio sent from Rome in 1513 with the order that the same year the third part of the church should be finished from this model, which was accomplished during 1520. He also designed the new façade of La Sagra (Pl. 30), or old Cathedral, in 1515, when the old front was destroyed to make room for the palace encroachment. In this new façade he reverently and harmoniously incorporated the Romanesque doorway of the older church. Mr. Longfellow¹ notes that here Peruzzi used "the characteristic motive which Palladio employed later at Venice in the churches of the Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore, which is usually considered his (Palladio's) property". Authorities also attribute to Peruzzi the Rotonda, an octagonal building erected in 1511 and taken down in the seventeenth century, of which the writer can find no plan, but it may be one of the Uffizi sketches herein reproduced. Campori believes that Peruzzi designed the bastioned walls which Pio built around the city in 1518-20. Undoubtedly the models for all the constructions in Carpi designed by Peruzzi were made in Rome and sent by Alberto Pio to Carpi from 1511 to 1515, as we find no record of Peruzzi's presence in that city. Alberto Pio is said to have preferred him to all other architects and Cardinal Ridolfo Pio also was a patron of Peruzzi's in Rome. Carpi and its records of the Pio family may yet reveal to future research further work of the Sienese architect.

Bernardo Dovizi of Bibbiena was a close friend of Isabella d'Este and his letters are full of devotion to her and her interests. He was made Papal Secretary at Rome at thirty-three years of age, upon the election of Leo X. (Giovanni de' Medici) and soon advanced to a cardinalship. His "well-dowered" niece Maria was she whom Raphael did not wish to marry, who lies buried near him in the Pantheon. When Isabella d'Este came to Rome in 1514, Dovizi caused to be performed, especially for her, his comedy "Calandra" taken from Plautus's "Menoechmi". Vasari writes of this as follows: "When the Calandra, a drama written by the Cardinal di Bibbiena was performed before Pope Leo, Baldassare prepared all the scenic arrangements for that spectacle in a manner no less beautiful, nay rather it was much more so, than he had exhibited on the occasion referred to above; (i.e. banquet to Duke Giuliano de' Medici, September 13, 1513), and his

¹ "The Brickbuilder", Boston, Mass. Vol. VI—Nov. 1897—No. 11.

labors of this kind deserve all the more praise, from the fact that these performances at the theatre and consequently all accessories required for their presentation had long been out of use, the festivals and sacred dramas having taken their place. But either before or after the representation of the Calandra, which was one of the first comedies seen or recited in the vulgar tongue, in the time of Pope Leo X. that is to say, Baldassare painted two of these scenic decorations, one of which was surprisingly beautiful, and opened the way to those of similar kind which have been made in our own day. In the arrangements of lights Baldassare also showed equal ability."

That Peruzzi was chosen again for work of this kind is evidence of his renown. It was a specially important event for him and for the drama, since he then invented, designed and used for this play the first *movable scenery and its machinery* employed upon the modern stage.

In the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Campodoglio, Rome, the historical paintings of scenes from Roman history in the room of "the Fasti", and of the Punic wars in "room of the Punic wars", formerly attributed to Benedetto Buonfigli of Perugia and Alessandro Botticelli of Florence, are, Gustavo Frizzoni says,¹ by Peruzzi. The hall of "the Fasti" represents the Triumph of the Kings of Rome. These were done about 1515. He also designed, date unknown, a Triumph of a Roman Emperor now in the Louvre (of a subject kindred to a sketch (Pl. 32) now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), reproduced in engraving by Marc Antonio Raimondi, according to Milanese, IV., p. 595.

In 1516, he executed his greatest decoration with figures, in the Ponzetti Chapel in Santa Maria Della Pace, Rome (Pl. 33), also the decorations of the semi-dome above it. It was done for Fernando Ponzetti Archdeacon of Sorrento and president of the Apostolic Chamber, who is represented kneeling in adoration. This was for a long period covered by another painting of Santo Ubaldo painted by Baldi. In 1893, Luigi Bartolucci restored this work, removing the last traces of its former covering. To many it is the best and most inspiring painting of its kind in Rome, and some critics, going there to see Raphael's work, have remained to admire Peruzzi's picture. Arthur Symons says of it, "I am never tired of the *Pace*, the Church of Peace, which nestles against the *Anima*, the Church of the Soul, in a poor central part of the city, and it is not for the Sibyls of Raphael, admirable in grace of invention as they are, that I go to it, but for the frescoes of Baldassare Peruzzi on the opposite wall, with their gracious severity, their profound purity."

Also he painted in this church the Presentation in The Temple (Pl. 34) for Filippo Sergardi da Siena, probably of that same Sienese family who were not long ago the owners of a Madonna and Child by Peruzzi. This Presentation is the painting that Annibale Caracci studied and admired so much, as Lanzi states in his praise of it. Caracci's sketch of it, was in the Duke of Devonshire's collection.

¹ "Di Alcuni Opere di Disegno" as before given.

Vasari, giving no date, says that Baldassare executed a very beautiful façade, now destroyed, near the Piazza degli Altieri for Francesco Buzio, depicting on the frieze, from life, all the cardinals then living, while on the wall itself were historical scenes representing the Caesars receiving tribute from all the kingdoms of the world, and above painted the twelve Emperors placed on corbels; also an escutcheon supported by three boys with the arms of Pope Leo X. near the Banchi.

Also for Fra Mariano Fetti, Frate of the Piombo, he made in *terretta* a design of San Bernardo for the garden of Monte Cavallo, and for the Brotherhood of Santa Caterina of Siena in the Strada Giulia, Rome, an exceedingly beautiful bier for the removal of the dead for burial. This is spoken of by Fabio Chigi in his "Commentario di Agostino Chigi" (Milanesi, LV., page 579), who also says that it was purchased during his lifetime by Ferdinand, Duke of Mantua.

Raphael being placed by Leo X. in charge of the theatrical production of Ariosto's "Suppositi" at the Vatican in 1519, Peruzzi supervised the scene painting and probably then produced his design of Roman buildings and remains which is now in the Uffizi (Pl. 35). The scene certainly suggests this probability because on this occasion Raphael is said to have been able to reproduce effectively the splendors of Rome.

At Todi, that ancient and still primitive Etruscan stronghold, the impressive five-domed church, Santa Maria della Consolazione (Pl. 36) outside the walls, has been attributed to Bramante as his original design for St. Peter's. This seems questionable. The construction was begun in 1508 by Cola Mateuccio da Caprarola and finished by others from 1516 to 1606. Milanese says that Peruzzi was called to Todi in 1518 to consult on this church and his sketches in the Uffizi show his proficiency in designs of this kind, witness his design for St. Peter's, and also that he visited Todi. Moreover, the affix "*da Caprarola*" suggests that Mateuccio knew Peruzzi, who certainly did work at Caprarola and had a recorded acquaintance there. The Messrs. Fletcher in "A History of Architecture", conclude that the design of S. M. della Consolazione is due to Peruzzi's influence, and a personal inspection of the building strengthens my belief.

In 1520 Raphael died at thirty-seven and soon afterward in the same year, Agostino Chigi passed away. On August 1st, 1520, shortly after Raphael's death, Peruzzi was appointed architect of St. Peter's. Leo decided to abandon Bramante's gigantic plan and also Raphael's later project with nave and side aisles. He therefore asked Peruzzi to restudy the problem, and according to Serlio, Peruzzi made the plan (Pl. 36) based on Bramante's but more beautiful and more practical. He also made a model for which he was paid a total of forty-five ducats. Peruzzi never had time to carry this design to completion, but the plan is roughly preserved for us by Serlio in his Book III on architecture, Venice, 1549. As architect Peruzzi directed the construction of St. Peter's for nine disturbed years, 1520-27—1530-31—1535-36.

Geymüller says that Peruzzi was appointed merely as an associate of Sangallo's, but Bedford says that Geymüller ignores "The codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, which Aurelio Gotti published in his 'Vita di Michel Angelo' (in the same year as Geymüller's 'Progetti') in which *San Gallo himself says that he succeeded Peruzzi as architect-in-chief of St. Peter's*". Also "Vasari clearly infers that San Gallo succeeded Peruzzi, and Vasari was well acquainted with the work, as he shows the church in the course of construction in 1546, in his own fresco in the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Cancelleria palace, with the choir of Peperino marble built up as high as the triglyphs of the Doric order". (Bedford Journal R. I. B. A. Feb. 22, 1902.) There is, in fact, now in the Barberini palace, Rome, an engraving of Peruzzi's choir made by H. Cook in 1550. Geymüller in his zeal for Bramante and Raphael hardly does Peruzzi justice, yet admits that from certain designs of Peruzzi's he does not think Vasari praises him too much.

Of Peruzzi's plan for St. Peter's, Serlio says, "In the time of Julius the second there lived in Rome 'Balthazar Petruccio' of Siena, not only an excellent painter but a very well versed and expert architect, who following in the footsteps of the aforesaid Bramante, made a model in the form which is shown below, and planned that the church should have four entrances, placing the High Altar right in the middle of the said church.

"On the four corners he planned four sacristies and vestries upon which were to be built towers for decorative effect and especially on the front looking toward the heart of the city." He follows this by giving the dimensions in the ancient Roman palm ($8\frac{1}{2}$ ").

Peruzzi's many designs for St. Peter's show that no one studied more fully the plans for that edifice, or was more intimate with the projects and construction than he, over a period of more than thirty years. Vasari states in "Bramante da Urbino", that "Peruzzi effected changes, when he constructed the chapel of the King of France in the transept which is on the side toward the Campo Santo", also in the lives of G. & A. da San Gallo he speaks of Bramante "having won over Baldassare Peruzzi and Raffaello da Urbino to his opinions", etc., showing the prominence of Peruzzi as one to be consulted even before Bramante's work of construction began in 1506.

Another plan attributed to Peruzzi is here given (Pl. 43). Of this Mr. Lawrence Grant White, the owner of the original, who has kindly allowed its reproduction, says:

"STUDY FOR THE PLAN OF ST. PETER'S, ROME".

"This drawing presumably made in 1505-1506, is reproduced (in outline only, on Plate 45) in Baron H. von Geymüller's well-known work, "Les Projets Primitifs pour la Basilique de St. Pierre a Rome", from which the following translation is an excerpt".

"It is attributed to Peruzzi. We can prove, however, that it is Bra-

mante's composition, and that it was drawn for him. It is drawn, mostly with the compass and ruler, on paper, at large scale and tinted with dark sepia. I am indebted to the well-known architect Poletti, of Rome, for having seen this plan in 1869. He kindly allowed me to make a tracing of it.

"On it is written in a handwriting of a later date than the drawing itself, the following inscription: "Baldasar Petrucci Senese", then "No. 10. Pezzo unico.

"It is possible that the name of Peruzzi was added only because of the great resemblance of this plan to that attributed to the latter by Serlio. The spelling of "Petrucci", which Serlio also employed for Peruzzi, seems to confirm this supposition. Considering, however, the two variations of the same scheme for the front of this plan which we have by Peruzzi, one of which at all events, was drawn for Bramante, we can state with certainty that the composition of which we have just spoken is also Bramante's".

How can it be denied that it is Peruzzi's composition from Bramante's earlier plan 1505-6? If we credit the plan given by Serlio, as appreciably Peruzzi's, we must credit this also to him. Geymüller further states, without giving his reasons, that it cannot be affirmed that Peruzzi is even the draughtsman! But his statement is not convincing, and the name on the plan must, for the present, remain a strong proof of Peruzzi's authorship. It is included herein as valuable for later investigations which may result in giving to Peruzzi's exhaustive studies that greater appreciation which so many feel is due him.

Visitors to "The Bramante Exhibition" of April, 1914, in the Uffizi saw many studies of Bramante's for various buildings, and one of Peruzzi's for St. Peter's "under Bramante". Many other sketches in the Uffizi (Pl. 37, 38, 39, etc.) made by Peruzzi, show clearly the gradual growth of his personal ideas for the superb plan (Pl. 36) which he finally made. In its strength and beauty this was not surpassed by Bramante's on which it is evidently based. It has a mere suggestion of the arrangement, grandeur, simplicity and richness in detail, of Santa Sophia, Constantinople, but expressed by a designer who knew how to group his masses and to distribute and resist the thrusts of a great dome better than did Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, the architects of Santa Sophia, which once threatened to collapse and recently has again given cause for anxiety. This plan of Peruzzi's has inspired many a later architect by its perfect harmony and proportion of parts and especially its *superb constructive expression*. Juan Bautista de Toledo adopted it for his plan of the Escorial. (See "Spanish Architecture of the XVI Century", Bayne & Tapley, page 424.) Also in the original competitive design for St. John the Divine, New York, a somewhat similar treatment in the rounded ends of the apse and transepts occurs.

> Peruzzi, as stated, personally spent a considerable part of nine years' time on St. Peter's, correcting its first faults, and completed the south transept, says Vasari. It must have been hard and discouraging work with all

the interruptions. He also, when Clement VII. became Pope on November 19, 1523, made preparations for the coronation, and, using Peperino marble, completed the façade of the principal chapel, begun by Bramante. In the chapel containing the bronze monument of Pope Sixtus, Peruzzi painted later (probably in 1524) the Apostles in chiaroscuro, only the St. Peter now being saved in the present crypt, the "*grotte scure*" of the Vatican, according to Milanesi, Vol. IV, p. 601. He also designed the tabernacle for the Sacrament in that chapel, which Bernini's design now replaces.

A plan for St. Peter's by an unidentified hand but in Peruzzi's manner (Pl. 43), is here given, which though suggesting the *design which Michel Angelo built*, yet has lettering strongly like that of Peruzzi, especially in the "P" similar to one on his drawing for the plan for the Massimo palace and at the rear door thereof, and like the "P" in a circle on the right hand and lower side of a drawing by Peruzzi, Plate 20, Geymüller's "St. Pierre"; also the figures "4" and "9" and letter "I" are much like Peruzzi's. Possibly, though not probably, it is the lettering of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger who succeeded Peruzzi on St. Peter's, but it is surely not the hand of Michel Angelo. It is a very interesting question as to who designed this plan. Future research may find the solution. The actual size of the entire drawing proper is $20\frac{5}{8}$ " x $27\frac{9}{16}$ " with lines in sepia and walls washed in with what is now a beautiful faint purple tint. This also comes from Mr. White's collection and was found in Rome. Could it be Peruzzi's study, suggesting the form which Michel Angelo finally adopted? It seems to the writer hardly possible.

CHAPTER V

BOLOGNA—1522

Although there is no record of it, Peruzzi probably was in Siena several times between 1503 and 1522. Otherwise it is difficult to explain how he accomplished so much work there in the years intervening. Also Vasari's statement that he was "almost compelled to *return* (from Bologna) to Siena" to fortify the city, strongly indicates that he was in Siena when in 1521-2 he was asked to go to Bologna. This invitation came from the wardens of works of the church of San Petronio and he accepted it for the purpose of competing for the alterations of that great church. Undoubtedly his fame as architect of St. Peter's, of the duomo at Carpi, etc., had preceded him.

His resources were still slender but fortunately he was the guest of Count Giovanni Battista Bentivogli, a prominent citizen, and was also befriended by Signor Panfilio dal Monte and others during his stay. In the sacristy of San Petronio are still preserved several of his designs for that church, made at this time in Bentivogli's house, according to Vasari, one showing a free use of Gothic architecture.

He also made among others a classic design, but the most noteworthy drawing exhibited there now is the longitudinal section showing a noble dome, cupola and nave most ably drawn both as to construction and detail, but yellow with age and hence difficult to photograph. Gaye states that he designed still others, and Stegman and Von Geymüller give a reproduction of Peruzzi's drawing for a detail of the front, which after having been long lost came into the possession, in 1884-5, of the French art dealer Thibeaudeau in London. It is a rich design elaborately detailed (Pl. 44). Although his work was highly praised by many men, including Erede Seccadinari, the architect, the reconstruction of this church was never carried out.

It is well worth visiting the Sacristy to see how clearly Peruzzi outshone his competitors in the drawings which are hung along with his, and yet he apparently received, on July 12, 1522, only eighteen *lire*, although it is likely that this was merely for some small part of his work. The weakness of the old building seems to have been the chief reason for abandoning the contemplated alterations.

In considering his other works in Bologna we must remember that Peruzzi was there but a short time and that he personally saw little if any of the work from his designs carried to completion. In the church of San Domenico, the Chapel Ghisilardi, a fine brick construction at the left of the front, is his work (Pl. 38). A sketch plan in the Uffizi also suggests this. There are traces of his design in the church of Madonna di Galliera, especially the small door on left of the front (Pl. 46).

In the church of San Procolo, in a little niche closed by a door and under the organ, is a small colored bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Peruzzi.

Il Lamo states that he designed the great Albergati palace (Pl. 47).
 > This is an almost overpowering front reminiscent of ancient Roman splendor, so grand is its scale and so simple its lines, as you come suddenly on it after winding through Bologna's colonnaded streets. It was never completed, but the present main entrance was to have been on the centre line of the front which gives one a good idea of the noble proportions of the entire façade, built of brick, terra cotta and marble. Anderson¹ gives this building unstinted praise, as do many authors. Mr. J. H. Worthington is inclined to think, from evidence which he presents, that it was due to Peruzzi but continued by Serlio and finished by others from 1540 to 1581; arguing also that the details are more clumsy than Peruzzi would have drawn. After careful study the writer feels that, while there may be some points to criticize, Peruzzi would purposely have avoided great refinement of members in a building so massive, so Roman in proportion and general style. The lower windows especially are singularly like those by Peruzzi in the Villa Mieli, Siena. It is, at all events one of the great designs of the Renaissance. Certainly no palace in Bologna and few in Italy surpass it in conception. Had the entire front been completed as intended with its single central doorway, thus eliminating the smaller door to the right, it would have emphasized the noble lines, and been a masterpiece of proportion.

The courtyard of the Cornelio Lambertini palace, or Lambrino, as Peruzzi lettered it on his sketch, afterward a part of the ancient Albergo del Commercio in Via Degli Orefici, is stated by Malaguzzi Valeri,² a cautious critic, to be an undoubted work of this master, and his plan is in the Uffizi collection. The last remnants of this courtyard, Doric columns, etc., have now been torn down unappreciatively, to make room for a public building. The remnant consisted, according to Malaguzzi, of the following: "A side opposite the entrance with high Doric columns ornamented with a band of rosettes around the capital. . . . The loggia above is modern".

The courtyard of the Boncompagni (later Benelli) palace, finished in 1543-4 is also believed to show Peruzzi's influence. The circle and diamond ornament on the second story window recalls the same design used horizontally on the front of Peruzzi's palace in the Via Giulia, Rome. The entrance door of this Boncompagni palace is also possibly due to him (Pl. 48). The rear of the palace bears a tablet on the street wall with incised lettering showing the date of actual completion to be 1543.

> The Palazzo Fioresi (Pl. 49), formerly Monari, in Via Galliera, built for Messer Panfilio dal Monte, is in spite of its attenuated columns, believed

¹ "The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance".

² "L'Architettura a Bologna del Rinascimento, Rocca San Casciano. Lincino Capelli 1899. Lavoro del Conte Fr. Malaguzzi Valeri".

by Il Lamo to be a design by Peruzzi; also a design of Peruzzi's from Mr. Lawrence Grant White's collection probably is a first study for this or a similar palace front so closely do certain details of the sketch correspond to those of this palace.

Peruzzi has been credited with having designed the large window in the exterior wall of the ground floor of the Palazzo Pubblico (Pl. 50), as well as a doorway, strongly Peruzzian (Pl. 50), of refined character in the *loggiato*. This is reached, on entering the great courtyard from the piazza, by walking immediately under the *loggiato* to the right and then to the left to the centre line of the courtyard.

It was during his Bologna work that he designed for his friend Count Giovanni Battista Bentivogli, in 1522, the picture, Adoration of the Magi, containing portraits of the Magi, of Titian, Michel Angelo and Raphael, which was engraved by Agostino Caracci in 1579. This design and a copy in oil on wood, which may have been done by Girolamo da Trevigi, 1521-22, although that was said to have been lost in a shipwreck, are now in the National Gallery, London, the copy having been presented by Lord Vernon in 1839. Of the first one Bartolommeo Cesi also made a copy which was once in possession of the Rizzardì family in Bologna. Waägen states that Trevigi's copy is not the one in the National Gallery but that this is by some Ferrarese artist, "equalling Rinaldo of Mantua".¹ The Escorial too has a reddish copy on wood in Peruzzi's manner, with the Colosseum, pillars, temples, and a marble Caesar on a pedestal in the distance.

In "*Fac-Similes of Original Studies by Raphael*" in the University Galleries at Oxford, etched by Jos. Fisher (London Bell & Daldy 1872), there is a reduced reproduction in plate 18 of a drawing of another Adoration of the Magi, which is therein attributed to Raphael, but is distinctively in Peruzzi's manner and closely like the one in the collection of Prince Hohenzollern of Sigmaringen, made for the tapestry now in the Vatican. The facial expression, the details of garments, folds, dresses, general composition and accessories mark it as the work of the Sieneſe master.

For the church of San Michele in Bosco, belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto, situated on a hill near Bologna, Peruzzi designed in 1522-3 the famous beautiful marble doorway (Pl. 51). This shows such decided refinement as to have given rise to the wish in Mr. Worthington's mind that he had left the frieze plain, but, as it stands, it is so nearly perfect in proportions and so refined in detail, that the doorway to the Pietro Massimo palace in Rome, is the only design of his with which we can compare it, and there are no equally simple and beautiful Renaissance doorways designed by any of his contemporaries or pupils. In these two doorways especially we see indisputable evidence of the thorough training of Peruzzi in architectural detail, for although the actual work of the San Michele one was executed by Bernardino di Milano and Giacomo da Ferrara, the very outlines, mouldings and ornament are full of the architect's personal thought

¹ "Treasures", p. 236, Vol. VII, by Waägen—See also Crowe & Cavalcaselle.

and care. The corbels show a classic ornamentation like that on the cornice corbels of his Pollini palace and other buildings at Siena, as Mr. Worthington noted.

The polygonal courtyard of San Michele shows a use of the so-called "Palladian motive" which Peruzzi uses in the palace on Via Giulia, Rome. The proportions of this motive if not the smaller details of columns and mouldings of this San Michele court also are in Peruzzi's manner. Upon the church entrance porch occurs a certain quirked moulding, i.e., the ogee of the moulding of the archivolt already alluded to as occurring also at Carpi.

Lanzi speaks of Peruzzi's "highly facetious" grotesques done here at Monte Oliveto. The ornamented interior pilasters of the apse of the church of San Michele also strongly suggest Baldassare's work in the apse of the Duomo at Siena.

In Mr. Lawrence Grant White's collection is an excellent drawing by Peruzzi probably for a portico or colonnade in Bologna. It is a valuable illustration of the great beauty and precision of his line drawing.

After Leo X. died, Adrian VI. De Del of Utrecht, the Flemish Pope, was elected in 1522 for the short balance of his life, since in 1523 he too passed away and Giulio de' Medici, as Clement VII. then became Pope.

CHAPTER VI

SIENA—1507-1523—VITERBO—FERENTO

It is well here to glance back and mention more of the works which were done by Peruzzi in Siena possibly during his visits at widely separated intervals after he first went to Rome and until he came back from Bologna in 1522-3. In Siena the excellent building of Santa Martha, now the Siena Orphan Asylum, Romagnoli attributes to Peruzzi's *design* of 1507 but Della Valle (Vol. III) in "Lettere Senese" etc., says that a pupil of Peruzzi, Di Lari (Il Tozzo), built it in 1535. Even if so this would hardly deprive Baldassare of all credit, yet it is so like his work that there seems to be strong probability that he was closely connected with its design. During all his life he seems to have had the confidence and respect of the best citizens of Siena and there is proof of his affiliation with the Brothers of San Domenico, in that he made for them several meritorious designs for the reconstruction of their barn-like church and by their attorney a loan was made to him.

Five and a half miles outside of Siena, at Sant'Ansano-a-Dófana, he designed and built of brick, in 1508, the simple and substantial Martirio di San Anselmo which is still standing and contains the painting of a Madonna which was exhibited in Siena not long ago.

Before the year 1512 and probably when ambitious Pandolfo Petrucci became undisputed master of Siena, he asked Peruzzi to design a "porticato" or arcaded portico around the Campo (now the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele) opposite the Palazzo Pubblico. Petrucci died at San Quirico in 1512 and the design was never executed, but the idea was revived in 1547 and again abandoned. A rough drawing by Pomarelli from Peruzzi's design, and now in the Opera del Duomo, is impressive although too small to convey clearly what effect the structure would have had in the intended location. Mondolfo in "Pandolfo Petrucci" speaks of this design for the "porticato" and others have praised it.

Venturi in his brochure, "The Farnesina", where he states that Peruzzi worked much for the Chigi family, says that he painted, in a portrait of the Virgin, the likeness of Petrucci's daughter Sulpizia, whom Cellini called "Porzia". She was the wife of Sigismondo Chigi for whom Peruzzi built the Villa Chigi-Mieli. Vasari speaks of her as a woman gentle in every way and Peruzzi named one of his daughters Sulpizia.

Not far beyond the villa Mieli, near the villa Nerucci, is the charming "*Podra (Podere) delle Loggie*", or farmhouse with the loggias, called "L'Apparita" (Pl. 1). Peruzzi's portion of the design is a red brick construction on the end of this farmhouse, although he may have done more not now evident. The date is unknown, but it is a fairly early work of

merit which deserves preservation in a scale drawing by some architectural scholar. Tradition ascribes it to Peruzzi as does A. Ricci also, in "*Storia dell' Architettura Italiana*", and this is probably correct as he seems to have had professional relations with the Nerucci family (near whose villa it is) in designing for them a ceiling in their Siena palace, which was planned by his master, Francesco di Giorgio. This is now the Banca d'Italia of Siena.

At Cerreto-Ciampoli, five miles south of Siena, he built a gateway, according to Della Valle (in "*Lettere Senese*") and a chapel with a Nativity showing the Saints, Bernard, John the Baptist and Jerome, and above the arch The Eternal Father; also he painted here two doors in the Casa di S. S. Cioni.

The Boston (Mass.) Museum of Fine Arts has in storage two small painted doors showing the Saints, Rocco, Sebastian, Christopher and Anthony, all, according to Berenson, Peruzzian in character, which careful examination leads me to think are the ones referred to above. They are owned by Professor Whittemore.

There is a ceiling called Peruzzi's (Pl. 52) of unknown but early date in the hospital of S. M. Della Scala opposite the Duomo, Siena, and in the church of this hospital his well known carved and painted organ front, which as it suggests the idea of the large windows in the Albergati palace, may have been done in 1522. Mr. Hill¹ however, says "about 1510" and gives no authority. This still adorns the wall, is often photographed and a very successful treatment of a difficult subject, decorated in dull blue, gold and red, the latter sparingly used, and still one of the best organ designs extant. Mr. Hill credits him also with that in the Duomo (Pl. 53) and also that in the Palazzo Pubblico. Burckhardt says that the two Barili in 1511 executed an organ case, in the Duomo, *inspired* by Peruzzi, which probably means that Peruzzi was its designer. The organ in the Palazzo Pubblico, he adds, is by Antonio Pifferio, date 1519, but it has an air of simplicity which suggests at least Peruzzi's restraining influence, although he was much, if not continually, in Rome at that period.

A simple little chapel by Peruzzi (Pl. 54) stands just outside the Porta Camollia near which was the post-house where Cellini says he killed its master. It is praised by Bedford for its admirable use of brick, with a well designed corner in moulded brick and tile, also "stone capitals and corners to the pediment where cornice joins it". The small openings above the arch and other details seem rather early and lead me to date it about 1512.

The Diavoli or Turchi palace (Pl. 83), further out on the road from the Camollia gate, is attributed by many critics to Peruzzi. The cornice of its chapel (credited also to Federighi) is in detail surely like that on Peruzzi's Mocenni and Pollini palaces. This chapel, at the end toward the town, is a beautiful piece of brick and terra cotta construction, with a fine frieze. On the way out to the Villa Santa Colomba beyond the Piano del Lago (or plain of the ancient lake) there is, on the opposite hill, a construc-

¹ "Organ Cases" by Arthur George Hill, F.S.A. London 1883.

tion which recalls in shape this tower and end of the Diavoli or Turchi palace, and invites exploration and study, for if Peruzzi designed the Diavoli he probably did this. Bedford also mentions a church tower with a top like that of the Carmine, between S. Colomba and Celsa villas which, he was convinced, Peruzzi designed.

The Mocenni, or Francesconi palace (Pl. 55) in Via Cavour near the Lizza, built in 1520 for Bernardino Bellanti, is altered but still retains fine proportions and details, besides three paintings of the story of Jonah, which mark it plainly as Peruzzi's and his plan for it is in the Uffizi. Romagnoli mentions the paintings herein, and also three in the house of a Signor Selvi, as Peruzzi's. The cornice of the Mocenni has terracotta details similar to those of the Pollini palace and Turchi chapel. He also probably designed the following: the court and an entrance and certain other doors of St. Catherine's house (Pl. 56) of which the court columns are rather slender like his Fioresi palace, Bologna, and "like his early Roman work"; the house No. 24 Via Baldassare Peruzzi (Pl. 57) refined and effective even in its present unfinished state; also the cloister of San Martino (Pl. 58 and Pl. 20) of which the two studies for the church itself are now in the Uffizi; the marble seat in the Loggia di Mercanzi (Pl. 59).

In descending Via S. Agata from the Piazza Giordano Bruno one comes abruptly upon the church of San Guiseppe, built by Peruzzi in 1522 to 1531, with a front by Giovanelli. This is a very picturesquely treated church (Pl. 60) which piles up imposingly above a valley on the outskirts of the city. The plan is in the form of a Greek cross, or a 36 ft. octagon with arms of moderate length, Peruzzi's favorite plan, with a balcony outside between the arms of the cross where the view is finest. Lazzeri alone credits the building to Pietro Caetano, a scholar of Peruzzi's, and to Bartholomeo Nerone and Maestro Riccio, with Baldassare Giusti as clerk of the works.

> Every architect will realize that Peruzzi could easily have designed work for Siena while in Rome. It is hardly possible, nor was it necessary, to personally inspect every site until actual building began and sometimes not then. We know that many of the largest constructions were done from models, as at Carpi, and clients in those days of slow travel and communication would hardly have expected that a design would always be made in the place where it was to be executed.

Among neighboring villas, the interior of the Saracini, parts of the more distant villas Santa Colomba (Pl. 61) and Celsa (Pl. 62) are all considerably by Peruzzi. To these must be added the villa of a Signor Lodole at S. Regina in the suburbs of Siena, near the Porta Pispina. It is impossible to give the exact dates of any of these. At Santa Colomba is a very well designed circular stone staircase by him, and the building, although clumsily altered, is in a free and gay vein. Here are evidently his designs in the front and in certain doorways, also in the narrow back court and rear garden wall. He used rusticated columns in the front of this villa

suggesting those in the fresco, "The Presentation in the Temple," at S. M. Della Pace, Rome, and also roughly indicated in his Siena sketch book. The romantic villa Celsa lies about eleven miles west of the Porta Camollia and a few miles beyond villa Santa Colomba and was the home of Mino Celsi—one of Luther's champions—early in the XVI century. It is in part Gothic, but there are early Renaissance features of Peruzzian character in the exterior chapel (Pl. 46), in the front wall of the court (Pl. 45) and in the interior of the main building. Strikingly placed with beautiful views from the tall towers which guard its wedge-shaped court, it has recently been well restored by Prof. Mariani of Siena.

The villa Vicobello too (Pl. 17) was built by Peruzzi for the Chigi family, and is well known to students for its charming architecture and lovely upper and lower gardens. Superbly situated on the hill opposite Siena it is a design of noticeably modern character in which Peruzzi relieved plain walls by flat panels. At the end of a garden walk on the same terrace as the house, is a famous wall niche,¹ and in the court a fine well top (Pl. 45). P. della Valle speaks of a painting, Deeds of Moses, by Peruzzi in "Casino Chigi near the Osservanza", which undoubtedly refers to this villa.

When in 1522-3 he returned from his Bologna work to Siena, at the urgent request of the authorities, the master must have been very busy both in public and private capacity. It is logical to believe that besides private commissions he designed at once some portion of the fortifications of the city, since the necessity for their immediate improvement was what brought him back. In fact he built, according to some writers between 1523-27 and according to others between 1527-29, parts of the city walls, including seven towers or gateways, of which those called Camollia (Pl. 46), Pispina, Laterina and San Prospero still remain.

Siena many times saw her fortifications restored and increased but Peruzzi's work impresses one more than that of any other engineer employed thereon. A huge, ingenious and imposing bastion outside the Porta Pispina is still called his, but far more impressive is the beautiful and stately Comollia gateway.

At Viterbo, Della Valle credits him with doing considerable work, at some period not determined, including the church of San Giovanni *Codetremoli* and other designs; Bedford and others speak of the *Panteone di Pontetremoli* as Peruzzi's, and at the *Ponte Tremoli* (Bridge of the Three Mills) in Viterbo, there is now an octagonal baptistry to be seen, called Santa Elizabetta or S. M. della Peste (Pl. 63) which is strikingly in his manner and probably the building referred to by the above writers. The external angle pilasters and the capitals with reeded channellings, the Latin motto of the frieze, the little cupola on top, are much like his work, but the interior mosaic of the floor is possibly an earlier relic which he incorporated. At neighboring Ferento (or Ferentum) he designed and, Vasari says, built, two

¹ See { "Italian Villas and Their Gardens", Edith Wharton.
 "The Art of Garden Design in Italy", Inigo Triggs.
 "The Old Gardens of Italy", Mrs. A. Le Blond.

villas for the Orsini "on the road to Viterbo" and planned other buildings "to be constructed in Apulia". All the above were probably designed at intervals after 1510. His fine plan for Conte Pitigliano's palace on the ruins of the Baths of Agrippa behind the Pantheon, Rome, was never executed (Pl. 64), but the Altemps palace, Rome, was largely his and the courtyard design as well as the exterior (Pl. 65) both reveal his hand.

CHAPTER VII

ROME—FERRARA—1523-27—SIENA—1527-30

It is quite likely that before the year 1524 Peruzzi was back in Rome, if the house there, in the Strada di Chiavari at the piazza dei Satiri, is properly ascribed to him as of the year 1523. It once belonged to the church of S. Carlo dei Catenari and was formerly the house of Cassiano del Pozzo, a noted antiquarian, friend and patron of Gaspard Poussin. This house has a very well designed courtyard with some ancient bas-reliefs built into its walls, also a fine staircase, and was two stories high. It is shown in Percier et Fontaine's, "*Maisons et Palais de Rome*", and still better by Letarouilly, but has been altered and the front is now hard to identify. It was probably of the same date as the house, "*Piccolo palazzo Altieri*" No. XI Via Delfini, where one finds on the right of the entrance driveway its tiny, but attractive Peruzzian court with a beautiful second story loggia on the left side thereof. This has three arches on columns, and ceiling vaults finely decorated with arabesques of a Pompeiian character, now fading away. (See Letarouilly and also Grüner.)¹

In 1525 Peruzzi designed the simple casino at Salone on the road to Tivoli, about seven and a half miles from Rome. This was for Cardinal Antonio Trivulzi, a good friend at court, who made peace for him with Pope Clement VII. after 1529, when Peruzzi had refused to help actively the Papal army besieging Florence. The casino is now a long red brick farmhouse, easily seen from the railway train, with a central arched door, and a loggia at one end, and still contains some frescoes possibly by Giov. Maria Falconetto, and Daniele da Volterra, a pupil of Peruzzi's.

This is all that remains of the design shown in his charming Uffizi sketch for a villa and an oval garden on the "fiume (river) Salone", which if built as he designed it, including the delightful and original garden, pergolas, bowers, etc., must have been once very beautiful (Pl. 17). The river has sadly diminished.

In connection with this design it is to be noted that Vasari, in his life of "Daniello di Volterra," says that Cardinal Trivulzi "conceived a great liking for Daniello (Ricciarelli di Volterra) whom he dispatched to one of his dwellings, a large building called the Salone or "Casale" which he had erected outside of Rome and which he was then causing to be decorated with stucco works, fountains and pictures by Giovanni di Milano and other artists, who were employed there at precisely that moment". Here Daniello worked busily on large and small figures and ornament.

After Baldassare returned from Bologna and Siena he designed a palace

¹ "Fresco Decorations etc. In Italy".

on the piazza of the Farnese, and a Doric doorway in the palace of Francesco da Norcia.

It is hardly possible that his active mind was not otherwise employed during this time and probably a considerable number of those necessary but practically unknown and inglorious repairs which he made on St. Peter's were continually in progress and took much of his time and strength.

Just when he was in Ferrara cannot now be determined. Jacopo Melighino of Ferrara was a friend of his in Rome, and through him he may have received the commission to design the now unfinished Castelli, Sacrati or de' Leoni (later the Prosperi) palace, and its famous marble doorway (Pl. 18). While the latter lacks Peruzzi's refinement in some ways it resembles the Boncompagni doorway at Bologna, and shows great originality and spirit.

The entire palace and door, probably brought to their present state in 1527, are attributed to him by Lanzi, Della Valle and others. Venturi alone disputes this and ascribes the doorway design to Ercole Grandi of Ferrara.

In 1527 came the terrible sack of Rome by the combined German and Spanish armies under the Constable de Bourbon, whom, while wearing a white cloak, Benvenuto Cellini claims to have shot from the walls of the Castle of St. Angelo during the siege. The sack is best described in Grimm's "Life of Michel Angelo", which tells in detail of both the brutal fanatic cruelty of the German Lutherans and the greater ferocity of the catholic Spaniards. Religious belief as usual restrained neither party; they called the Pope Anti-Christ and considered Rome a sink of iniquity and therefore legitimate spoil. Peruzzi was made prisoner, lost all his property and, being taken for a high dignitary or a noble, was held for ransom. He however, obtained his release by painting the portrait of the dead Bourbon and by the Siense advancing the amount of the ransom. He escaped and took ship to Port' Ercole where he may have taken notes of local conditions for the casemates which he designed later. Finally he reached Siena destitute, "clad only in his shirt". What became of his "brother" Pietro we have no record. Disconsolate and impoverished Peruzzi met with immediate kindness at the hands of his fellow citizens, who must have not only relieved his immediate needs but replaced them with honors, for he was made "Architetto del Pubblico" from 1527-9, receiving five scudi or crowns per month salary.

The simplest, finest and most famous palace in Siena by Peruzzi is the Pollini, Pellini (or Celsi) which is justly praised by critics as one of the best in Italy (Pl. 66-67). This he probably designed in 1527-30, or earlier, as the battering wall of the basement and the torus mouldings follow the idea of his city walls and bastions done from 1523 to 1529. The palace contains three interior ceiling frescoes: The Continence of Scipio, with border design like those of his mosaics at S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Rome), The Adoration of the Magi, and the Story of Susanna and the Elders. The

rooms inside have vaulted ceilings in the main story indicated externally by the great height of wall above the tops of its windows. This palace was once owned by the Celsa family, probably the same who owned the villa Celsa near Siena. Mr. Kilham (in Vol. III, Brickbuilder) shows that the basement wall slopes inward two feet in thirteen feet seven inches of height. It also runs effectively along to retain the raised garden at the left, at the rear of which are picturesque loggias. Entirely without an architectural order as it is, the use of an order could not have given this palace better proportions, better disposed solids and voids, or more generally logical treatment for its purpose. There is a satisfaction in studying the entire building like that gained from the painting of a figure which reveals, altho' draped, the painter's full knowledge of proportion and anatomy.

As soon as affairs became more settled he evidently returned to Rome for at least a short time, because in the "Letters of Sebastiano del Piombo to Michel Angelo" published by Milanesi, we find that on the 28th of January, 1528, Sebastiano wrote to Michel Angelo as to the valuation of certain work which he had just done, "not trusting to myself I wished to take the opinion of several others and above all of master Balthazar de Sienne. I send you his estimate and counsel for he appears to me to be a good man and just".

Gaye in his "Carteggio" reprints a document showing that on September 16th, 1528, Peruzzi bought the simple house, which is still in good condition, in Via Camollia, 48 (Pl. 57) "opposite the church (of S. Pietro) Magione". The purchase money was lent to him by the Brothers of San Domenico. On this house an incised marble tablet now reads as follows: (Translation)

THIS HOUSE
WAS OWNED AND INHABITED
BY BALDASSARE PERUZZI
SIENESE PAINTER AND ARCHITECT
CELEBRATED AND SINGULARLY UNFORTUNATE
WHO BY SUBLIME WORKS
LEFT IMMORTAL FAME

It would be hard to compose in so few words a memorial more expressive of the sympathy and homage of his fellow townsmen, or one more appropriate to his simple, straightforward character.

The date of Peruzzi's marriage to Lucrezia d'Antonio del Materasso is not known, but they had in all six children, two of whom were born after his escape from the horrors of the looting of Rome and it is reasonable to infer that he may have married at about the time he bought his house or shortly after, when his financial affairs began to improve. In all proba-

bility this purchase and perhaps also his public work, brought him to Siena, inasmuch as his presence is proved by the records. If we accept most of the authorities as to dates he must have been constantly going and coming between his home and the Eternal City for the next few years.

He painted his last mural picture in Siena proper in 1528, the famous, Sibyl Foretelling to the Emperor Augustus the Birth of Christ, in the church of Fontegiusta. This is a freely restored but impressive work of considerable beauty in which Michel Angelo's influence is traced by some critics. Lanzi says of it, "the painter gave it so divine an enthusiasm that Raphael, as well as Guido and Guercino, treating the same subject never surpassed it." It is too well known to reproduce herein.

A sketch for this is in Peruzzi's sketchbook in the Siena Library while another (Pl. 68) (found by the writer) in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from the Vanderbilt collection, was unknown to writers and is probably a study for another painting of the same subject, mentioned by Della Valle as once being opposite the church of San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome.

In *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese XVI. Secolo*, (Siena, 1854-6) reprinted by Gaetano Milanesi, it appears that a certain Girolamo d'Angelo Menichelli, a mason, "had lent" him (Peruzzi) 155 gold scudi to pay the balance of his debt for his ransom paid by Siena to Bourbon's soldiers, and Peruzzi acknowledged the receipt thereof from him on September 18, 1528.

He soon became architecturally busy again in his native city, as the Sienese records of 1521-29 show, and designed in 1527-29 the oratory "della Selva", for the Guild of the Weavers.

In November, 1528, he was, as shown by his letters to the Signoria of Siena, busy at Bagno dei Vignoni near Orcia, estimating the cost of restoring the bridge near Orcia, "Ponte all' Orcia". He was also fortifying Asciano and was chosen the architect and selected the site for the building of the church of San Giovanni in Pantaneto di Siena, although Milanesi says that if Peruzzi made the design it was departed from later.¹ Ricci and Romagnoli believed Peruzzi designed the interior in 1528-31. It also was known as church of the "Concezione" (Conception), now Servi (Pl. 69). Milanesi believes possibly it was done by Venture di Ser Giuliano Turapilli, who died in 1522. It may possibly have been executed from Peruzzi's designs by Turapilli or others. A certain capital, however, suggests those in a courtyard at Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, done by him and in the Turchi chapel, Siena. It is claimed that the Servi was the inspiration for San Niccoló in Carpi.

In 1529, according to Vasari, or 1524 according to others, he designed the tomb of Pope Adrian VI., in S. M. dell' Anima, Rome, by the orders of Cardinal Enckenviort (or Enkevort). It was executed by the Sienese sculptor Michel Angelo assisted by Tribolo who did the allegorical figures,

¹ See Gaye also, "Carteggio Inedito, etc., 1839-40" for his appointment as architect for this church.

and by Peruzzi. The latter also did the paintings around it, of the Saints Bennone and Antonio canonized by Adrian, and designed the three doorways of this church. As Peruzzi was also at Poggibonsi this year, 1529, Vasari may be in error as to the exact date; 1524 seems more likely and the tomb was really finished before 1529, because in a document dated July 29, 1529 Peruzzi appoints his old friend Pietro d'Andrea da Volterra, "Sienese painter", his attorney to recover from Cardinal Tortose Enckenviort the balance of the cost or contract for the tomb, nine gold scudi. Tribolo, the assistant on this work, was he who traveled with Cellini to Venice only to find that Sansovino put off employing him, for which Cellini says he rebuked Sansovino at his own table.

On the 23rd of February, 1529, Peruzzi's appointment as architect of the Sienese Republic was confirmed for the coming year. On the 8th of March he was busy with the fortifying of Chiusi, which his sketch No. 617 in the Uffizi shows, and on the 10th day of July he was first made Capomaestro of the Duomo at Siena. On September 20th he praised Bazzi's work in the Palace of the Signoria. By the 22nd of September he was engaged in the war against Florence, and before the walls of that city, probably as a military engineer, although Vasari says that he displeased the Pope by not being willing to aid in the attack. On the 20th of October, 1529, he reports to the Signoria at Siena from Poggibonsi that it would be easy for Papal troops to take possession of Poggio Imperiale and to occupy and garrison the whole of Valle d'Elsa. In this year he probably finished fortifying Siena and designed the repairing of the walls of Torrita near Montepulciano.

The late W. P. P. Longfellow wrote with great enthusiasm in the November issue of Vol. VI of *The Brickbuilder*, praising, as follows, Peruzzi's tower of the Carmine church (Pl. 70) opposite the Pollini palace, built about 1531: "It is for all its simplicity one of the finest of the Renaissance campanili, as it is one of the earliest, and bears such marks of Peruzzi's peculiar command of fine proportion in all details as well as in masses, that it would be difficult not to accept the tradition which ascribes it to him. I know of no other piece of brick detail in Siena which can be classed with it. Every detail is in brick, there is not a line or scrap of stone or terra cotta in the whole. Even of moulded bricks the forms are few, very simple and very sparingly used. * * * All desirable detail is here; the proportion is so finely adjusted, the relief so delicate and yet so firm, the emphasis so well bestowed, that the tower has the effect of a finely treated design in wrought stone and an air of elegance which it is very rare to find in pure brick work, etc. * * * of its type there is none better". Ricci thinks the Carmine tower not Peruzzi's on account of the style, but other critics, the sketch in the Uffizi, and the detail proclaim it his. Lazzeri gives the name of the builder as Maestro Domenico Ponsi.

Peruzzi also designed the church and its cloisters (Pl. 71). In the

sacristy a wonderfully modelled bronze Christ on the cross, which the custodian shows as Peruzzi's, will bear comparison with Cellini's work in modelling and expression. On his Uffizi sketch, for the Carmine—only a rough study—is written, in Peruzzi's handwriting, "*Io Baldassare putio (Peruzzi) architettore e pittore fo. (made it) piena e indubitata fede come gia piu sono. XI Oct. MDXXXI*", a notation showing his authorship.

CHAPTER VIII

ROME—1530-1—SIENA—1531-2—ROME—1532-6

Rome appreciatively claimed his services once more when Pope Clement awoke to the necessity of pushing the long neglected work on St. Peter's and appointed him to take charge of the construction from 1530 to 1531. At this time he had the unusual honor of holding simultaneously the three offices of Architect-in-Chief of St. Peter's and at Siena, Capomaestro of the Duomo, and Civic Architect.

After having made a design for the great palace or "Rocca", at Caprarola, northwest of Rome near Viterbo, he is known to have been at work during 1530 on the actual construction of the building (Pl. 72) which he had then built up to the ground floor. That he was, as Milanesi says, its author, seems well borne out by his studies now in the Uffizi, which consist of pentagonal plans for it. Among these is a small section of "Profilo dela Podra (country house) di Caprarola" on the same sheet as a sketch plan, and a note in his handwriting which reads, (translation) "Silvestro da Caprarola received 16 julii (name of coin) from me Baldassare Architect of Siena to purchase for me so much linen cloth; he did not buy it nor is he returning to me the money."

One sketch plan shows a pentagonal building, marked "180" on one side, and the section shows two stories with vaults below, a large hall, and in front a loggia, all under the same roof. Also in the Court library at Vienna there is by him an extremely interesting rectangular plan for Caprarola, probably one of his early studies.¹ Besides these there are in the Siena sketch-book his sketches of stairs in pentagonal bastions, such as exist at Caprarola, which also prove that Sanmicheli was not the first to use the pentagonal bastion as has been asserted. The pentagonal plan of Caprarola like a huge bastioned castello is very suggestive of Peruzzi's talent as a military engineer. Other sketches in the Uffizi show his experiments in planning villas of square shape (Pl. 72) with loggias and the wall lines of bastion towers at each corner slanting in toward the center of each side of the building. These were evidently suggested by the plans of his military bastions, and may be early studies for Caprarola or may have led to its final design by him. His authorship of Caprarola now seems to be beyond question and Peruzzi shares the credit for this interesting and palatial country house with Antonio Sangallo the Younger and Vignola who carried on and completed it. Vignola designed the "palazzino" or casino of this estate.

In 1531 he planned the casemates of Port 'Ercole, and also invented a new way of stamping money. This same years he went to the Maremma

¹ "Entwürfe Baldassare Peruzzi's" etc. (1902) Hermann Egger.

to survey its fortified hill towns, with a view to their re-fortification, and also visited Siena. On October 28, 1531, certain citizens of that city who knew that he was insufficiently paid, petitioned the General Council to increase his salary on account of the great value of his services and accordingly the amount was doubled.

He designed the main bronze doors and made a sketch and a model for the high altar of the Duomo. A bull dated May 21, 1532, was issued by Cardinal A. Spinola allowing Peruzzi to remove certain marbles from Rome to Siena for the altar construction. This was undoubtedly when he changed the position of the altar from its original position under the crossing and decorated the pilasters of the apse, which are so Roman yet Bolognese in their character as to recall those of the apse of San Michele in Bosco, Bologna. A sketch for the apse of the Duomo at Siena, is now in the Albertina in Vienna,¹ and that for the altar is in the Royal Palace, Turin (Pl. 73).

In 1532 Peruzzi was again appointed Capomaestro of the Duomo, at a yearly salary of 30 scudi, or crowns, and on July 16 he orders Niccolo Cecchini treasurer of the Marsiliana to make a payment to Galgano Fondi attorney of the Brothers of San Domenico, who had advanced the money for the first payment on his house, and on October 12th the Sienese Republic voted him the rents of the Marsiliana, 240 scudi annually, for eleven years. This year too, he built the bridge at Buonconvento, southeast of Siena. On October 5th, 1533 his friend Girolomo Angelo Menichelli, the mason, acknowledges the receipt from Peruzzi of 50 scudi in part payment of his loan. Surely the balance was paid later. On May 15, 1534, there is a record of 882 lire, paid for mixed stone ordered from Rome and for the inspection of same by Peruzzi. In the Duomo he is also credited with designing the steps and their balustrade to the pulpit by Pisano which were executed by Bernardino di Giacomo in 1543, and are by some critics attributed to Peruzzi's follower Riccio.

In 1534 Pope Clement VII. died and was succeeded by Paul III., Alessandro Farnese, during whose pontificate, ending in 1550, Peruzzi, A. Sangallo the Younger, and many other famous artists did their last works.

Sometime after the death of Antonio Sangallo the Elder, in 1534, Peruzzi finished for him the Contucci Palace (Pl. 83) in Montepulciano, adding the top story at least. He also built there the little house Via Cavour No. 27 and a dwelling Via Ricci, No. 9, dates unknown.

The Belcaro villa (Pl. 74-5-6) built between 1532 and 1535, was his last architectural work near Siena before his final return to Rome. Belcaro, originally a mediaeval fortress, stands on the top of a hill. Dense ilex trees grow about it now, their tops level with the ancient ramparts. Around the paved top of these one can walk behind the parapet and look down on the court and the small garden to study the formal but pleasing exterior of the casino. This or its prototype and court, chapel and loggia Peruzzi

¹ Stegmann and Von Geymüller "Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana".

planned in the Gothic stronghold for the Turamini family and so very harmoniously is it all accomplished, although done in a Renaissance style, that it is hardly to be criticised. His plan in the Uffizi, possibly a first study, differs a little from that of the present villa, or casino, and its courtyard, and Frizzoni states that the interior of the dwelling and the wall separating the court from the garden are the architectural works by Peruzzi now remaining.

Belcaro belonged to the Savini family in the XVI. century, and in 1377 in a dilapidated condition it was given by Nanni di Ser Savini to St. Catherine of Siena who made it into a convent "of religious women who shall continually pray for the city and inhabitants of Siena". She called it "Santa Maria degli Angeli" and wrote some of her letters from there. After this the Bellanti owned it as a fortress, but in 1525 the wealthy bankers Turamini bought it, and Peruzzi later, besides designing for them the courtyard, casino, loggia and chapel, frescoed the latter three. In 1554 Belcaro was again a fortress and was won by Gian Giacomo de' Medici, the last of the condottieri and Commander of the allied forces of Charles V. and Cosimo I. This was the end of the Siena Republic. Belcaro was later called the villa Camaiori.

Peruzzi's fine fresco *The Judgment of Paris* (Pl. 74) is painted on the entrance hall ceiling in the casino and the garden loggia contains his badly restored, but effective frescoes of amorous, classical subjects, in trellises with birds, etc. (Pl. 76), while the chapel has paintings of a religious character. Altogether one gains here a new insight into his great powers as a decorative painter. Leader Scott¹ says of Peruzzi's frescoes in general—probably meaning the larger figure compositions—"as one never sees a Fra Angelico without his ethereal blue, so Peruzzi never paints a picture without at least one sea-green robe; it is the peculiar coolness of this tint and his taste in toning down all his other colors to agree with it, which gives a peculiar airy charm to his coloring". She also calls him "perhaps the finest decorative painter of his age". The interior of the Villa Saracini and the frescoes at Belcaro show how closely Peruzzi's work was connected in manner and quality with that of Giovanni da Udine, and possibly they worked together even more than is recorded.

The last decoration he did here at Belcaro and probably his last mural painting anywhere, is the Turamini coat-of-arms in the chapel, consisting of a half moon and star surrounded by cherubs and dated 1535, for in March 1535 he returned to Rome, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The Ossoli palace at the corner of Vicolo dei Balestrari and Piazza Spada in Rome is credited by Geymüller to Peruzzi, as not much earlier in style than the Massimi palace, and by Letarouilly as of the year 1525. It should be seen first at a distance through the Vicolo dei Balestrari with the afternoon sun on its front in order to appreciate both its strength and refinement. The projections and reveals are ample, the mouldings vigorous but

¹ Leader Scott (Mrs. Lucy E. B. Baxter) in "The Renaissance of Art in Italy".

not coarse. It is undeniably by the man that designed the Farnesina and the Massimi, and is moreover a building which even a careless observer will notice. The fine antique fragment set, in Peruzzi's manner, over the doorway (Pl. 15-16) is the only one remaining of several which he built into the front. There were originally others placed between the basement windows to mask them.

>He must have designed the Massimi palace sometime after 1532. It was his masterpiece, "the last original work of the Renaissance in Rome" as Gnoli says in *"Have Roma"*, and to many the most perfect dwelling of the period. The sack of Rome had destroyed among other buildings the old Pietro de' Massimi dwelling on the Via San Pantaleo. Here in 1435 had been set up by Pannartz and Schweinheim, nomadic Germans, one of the first printing presses in Rome from which came early editions of the classics. The head of the family, Domenico Massimo died after the sack of the city and left his estate to three sons, Pietro, Angelo and Luca. Pietro and Angelo were desirous of building again on the old site, but Luca planned to build across the way, as the Uffizi plan shows. The family claim descent from Fabius Maximus "Cunctator", who wore out Hannibal by his delaying policy, their motto being "Cunctando Restituit" and the family name included "del Portico" and later "alle Colonne". This pedigree, as stated by Mrs. T. B. Batcheller¹ who is acquainted with the present family, was traced by the tombstone of Leone Massimo, dated April 23, 1012, found on the Aventine Hill, and it is said that since then there have been twenty-seven direct generations. The new palace of Pietro was to be so designed as to reproduce suggestively the house of an ancient Roman patrician, and "del Portico" and "alle Colonne" were to be incorporated for the two brothers, in the exterior design. Today we know from Pompeii and other sources what such a plan should be like, but aside from the rules of Vitruvius and possibly some ruins not known to us today, Peruzzi had little upon which to base his design. In spite of this, however, his first study in the Uffizi shows the clever planner. The final plan (Pl. 77) following the curve of the street was, however, a decided improvement upon the first. This house of the elder brother Pietro is the better of the two, for in its façade (Pl. 78), sixty-seven feet high, is properly embodied both the "*portico*" and the "*columns*", and no front could better grace the narrow curving street, a view of the upper stories being then hardly possible. Now, however, the street is wider and a richer treatment of the upper stories might suggest itself. The materials of the building are porous travertine in general, with light grey columns, etc., in the courtyard, while much of the smaller ornament is in very hard stucco.

Letarouilly, Suys & Haudebourt, Anderson and others, have well reproduced the beauty of the plan, elevation and interior details, although Letarouilly sometimes overlooks the finer but essential characteristics of Peruzzi's

¹ "Glimpses of Italian Court Life", Doubleday, Page & Co. New York, 1907.

mouldings, as is carefully noted by Mr. John Scarff in the *Journal of A. I. A.* for June 1914.

> This palace is one of the highest expressions of man's ability to utilize architecturally a given space and materials. It is Greek in its refinement and yet not architecturally Greek, but antiquity living again, in a modern form,¹ no lifeless copy of earlier art, but a house in which a modern could appropriately and enjoyably live. Indeed its modernity is remarkable. Peruzzi saw exactly what the more cultivated man of the Renaissance properly required as a dwelling and even what future men would require. Today we cannot improve upon the great sense of privacy, security, hospitality, and elegance expressed in this house, marking a distinct departure from the mediaeval dwelling surrounded by dangers from without; a condition so perfectly expressed before this in the castles and towers of mediaeval Italy.

A description of the fine interior need not be given here, but one feature not before explained must be mentioned. The loggias off the court are lighted by perforations at the outer sides of their vaulted ceilings, an arrangement which some critics condemn, but it shows Peruzzi's independence in perforating the space of the frieze in the court for light in the loggias and rooms. A precedent for this is given by Mantegna in his painting of the Baptism of Hermogenes in the Eremitami, Padua. Mantegna also was a great student of ancient design, who undoubtedly had found classic precedent for perforations in such a location and they are logically correct.

> Nowhere else has Peruzzi left such an illustration of what the Renaissance meant, what it could attain in the hands of a master unless it is the beautiful Pollini palace in Siena. Bramante, trained in knowledge of the antique, a classicist of undoubted depth and thoroughness, never gave the world a building of greater originality and life. His works indisputably will always make a logical and powerful appeal to the architect and the scholar, but Peruzzi interests the antiquarian, the humanist, the architect, and everyone who believes that architecture must advance by the artist's personal adaptation of it to modern conditions. The great lesson he teaches here and in general is that the artist, artisan and every man, should put his personality into his work by showing not how much he knows, but how well he can use his knowledge to produce new beauty, new harmony, new dignity.

The adjoining palace originally of Angelo Massimo forms part of the Massimi building. While revealing an equal simplicity and excellence of arrangement it does not possess the great beauty of Pietro's house. Yet façade, interior details, and plan are well worth close study for their reserve and refinement.

The relative heights of the tops of the ground floor windows of Angelo's palace and that of its main entrance door are very interesting, especially

¹ See Donaldson's "Doorways" etc. London, 1833.

because in Siena, at No. 24 Via Baldassare Peruzzi, we find practically the same slanting lines making a slightly pyramidal composition of the tops of the openings, which as Dr. Frey of Vienna once pointed out to the writer, seems to remove any possible doubts as to Peruzzi having designed both buildings, although he died before either was finished.

At the present day the Prince Carlo Massimo family annually open their palace (of Pietro) to the public one day, in recognition of the miracle said to have been wrought by Saint Filippo Neri, the family priest, in resuscitating Paolo, the son of Prince Fabrizio Massimo in 1583, although the boy died shortly afterward.

Each year therefore on March 16th, hundreds of people of all conditions and kinds, rub elbows up the stairs of this palace, passing all day long through the beautiful courts, loggias and rooms to see the relics and the little chapel into which the sun pours morning and afternoon through windows high up on each side. Such an interest is shown only where people are attracted by their surroundings, and here, I believe, the greatest factor is the indefinable but intense charm of Peruzzi's architecture and the decorations.

There is in the opinion of the writer, no one building of the Renaissance which can so fully instruct a student in the highest expression of his art. The other house for Luca, across the street was never begun.

In LeMonnier's and in Milanese's edition of Vasari and in Letarouilly we find that the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, built 1534 is also Peruzzi's plan and not San Gallo's.

In 1535 Paul III. made Peruzzi again architect of St. Peter's, but he probably had done little if any important work before fatal sickness attacked him.

The Pope heard of Peruzzi's severe illness, caused, it was suspected, by poison administered by a jealous rival. He sent to him by Jacopo Melighi or Melighino, the accountant of St. Peter's, a kind message and a present of 100 scudi, and it was too late to restore his strength, and early in January 1536 the light of this noble life went out under a cloud of apprehension for the future of his family whom he left with little means of support. Vasari states this, and comments on the ungratefulness of his clients. The date of his death is given both by Fea and Milanese as the 6th of January, 1536, although Vasari states that the inscription on the tomb was dated January 4th. The suspicion of poison was never substantiated yet may have been true. He was the last of the really great Siennese painters and architects. With all his undisputed talent, his hard work and his fame, Peruzzi's life was a constant struggle against poverty, disappointing conditions in the non-completion of his designs, and injustice in the lack of adequate reward for his excellent and conscientious work. His plucky career helped bring about, and extended through, the highest phase of the Renaissance and his lifetime saw nine Popes on the Papal throne,

but if there is such a thing as ill-luck, it certainly attended this great interpreter of Renaissance life and ideals.

>Yet after all, as we have seen, he was not without great honor in his own city of Siena, modest as the pecuniary returns certainly were, and it was largely due to his Roman practice that, as Rosini affirms, in "*Storia della Pittura Italiana*", he was consulted as "the oracle" in architecture.

Vasari writes of his funeral as follows: "He was deeply mourned by his friends and children who laid him to rest in the Rotonda (Pantheon) near Raffaello da Urbino; all the painters, sculptors and architects of Rome accompanied him with tears to the grave, according to his remains the most honorable sepulture and inscribing over them the following epitaph" (which Bottari states was not in the Pantheon in his time): (Translation)—

"TO BALDASSARE PERUZZI OF SIENA, A MAN SO EXCELLENT IN PAINTING AND ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS OF GENIUS THAT HAD HE DIED IN ANCIENT TIMES, OURS WOULD DISTINGUISH HIM MORE HAPPILY. HE LIVED FIFTY-FIVE YEARS, ELEVEN MONTHS AND TWENTY DAYS. LUCRETIA AND GIOVANNI SALLUSTIO TO THE BEST HUSBAND AND PARENT, WITH THE TEARS OF SIMONE, ONORIO, CLAUDIO, EMILIA AND SULPIZIA THE YOUNGER CHILDREN, GRIEVING HAVE PLACED THIS MEMORIAL THE FOURTH OF JANUARY 1536."

>The fame of Baldassare was greater after his death than during his life; more particularly were his judgment and knowledge vainly desired when Pope Paul III. determined to cause the church of San Pietro to be completed, seeing that all then discovered how useful his assistance would have been to Antonio da San Gallo". Not many years after his death, Serlio, in the introduction of his Book IV. of Architecture, declared: "For all you will find here to please you, do not give praise to me but give it to my predecessor Baldassare Peruzzi who was not only very learned in this art, but was also courteous as well as liberal in directing those who were interested, especially me, which recounts to his benignity". He also commended his sound taste, facility and elegance.

Among others who have praised him, Lomazzo wrote, he was "*Architetto Universale*"; Milanese called him, "This most excellent master"; Lanzi said that he is to be ranked higher than Bramante; Eugene Müntz, in his "*History of Art During the Renaissance*" says, "In this race, always borne toward fineness rather than toward force, architecture took on more and more purity, tendencies which * * * found their highest expression in the Sienese, Balthazar Peruzzi, pre-eminent harmonist in the matter of architecture". D. Gnoli states that he was "perhaps the most perfect architect of the Renaissance", and Sir Reginald Blomfield unreservedly terms him "the greatest architect" of that productive period.

There are extant at present the following portraits of him:

The likeness which appears in the wood cuts of the various editions of Vasari's "Lives".

The pen and ink sketch which he drew on the margin of his Sketch Book in the Public Library of Siena (Title page, Pl. B) like the above.

His drawing in red chalk on the side of a sepia design of the Marriage of Rebecca (244 Bis. Uffizi Collection).

The bust by Giovanni Duprè (1853) in the Art Gallery at Siena (Pl. 80).

Variations of the likeness of Vasari's "Lives", in Suys and Haudebourg's "Palais Massimi", and Percier and Fontaine's "Palais et Maisons de Rome".

The likeness in The Expulsion of Heliodrus (Vatican) where Mrs. Ady¹ believes with Morelli² that Peruzzi is painted standing opposite and at the left of Raimondi, both acting as litter bearers to Pope Julius II.

Copper-plate engraving by Dieu and Thierry, etc., exhibited in Paris, June 1889, at Ecole des Beaux Arts, "Exhibition of Portraits of Architects".

Copper-plate engraving in Bullart's "*Academie des Arts et Sciences*, 1682".

In Dreux and Raider's "*L'Europe Illustre*".

Lithograph in British Museum signed "Jeanron del Bouquet sc".

Sketch by Peruzzi of himself, No. 438 in the Uffizi Collection, by which Morelli established the likeness referred to above.

Oil painting of himself from Professor Elia Volpi's collection (Frontispiece, Pl. A).

Small head in An Allegory of Mercury, by Peruzzi, now in the Louvre.

It is noticeable that the marginal pen and ink drawing of a head in Peruzzi's sketch-book in Siena, is strangely like the head of Simone Memmi which Vasari gives in the life of that earlier artist, but it is also like Peruzzi. Memmi's head may be an imaginary one based upon this drawing by Peruzzi, possibly for Vasari, from a source now unknown.

¹ In, "Raphael in Rome", E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1907.

² *L'Archivio dell'Arte Italiana*, Series II—Vol. II, 1896, p. 397.

CHAPTER IX

REVIEW OF PERUZZI'S QUALITIES AND METHODS

NEGLECT OF HIS TOMB—SIGNOR GNOLI'S SUGGESTION

INCREASE OF HIS FAME

▷ Peruzzi's remarkable, if not greatest gift, was the strong sense of proportion or scale manifest in almost all his work, due to what we term "a correct eye". So noticeable is this that it is constantly alluded to by those who have studied his sketches and executed designs. While undoubtedly improved by familiarity with the antique, it could not have come from that alone, for his early work also shows that in this quality he stands far above his contemporaries. Architects recognize it as one of the rarest gifts, and while other men have possessed, no one has ever more constantly or appreciatively used it. With him it was second nature and attracts attention to his buildings before one is aware of the compelling cause.

Next comes his full appreciation of the value of plain wall surfaces, or solids, as elements of relief and strength in contrast with the voids of openings. Famous architects have failed to grasp this principle or wilfully neglected it for other effects to catch the eye; indeed many seem to have feared to leave a plain surface anywhere.

The simplicity and directness of Peruzzi's compositions appeal powerfully to eyes tired of the modern confusion of too many features. His mouldings are well designed and in the proper place, but he neither crowded them nor neglected their scale, and this suggests another quality in his works, an often noticed and almost Greek character of refinement. Whence did he derive this? Certainly not, as far as we know, by extended travel outside of Italy, although he apparently visited Northern Africa and may have seen parts of Sicily. It must have been that his acute powers of observation and absorption recognized and appreciated the refinement in the best architecture and sculpture of ancient Greece and Rome, and of those many cities of Italy which we know he visited.

His originality and inventiveness, present themselves constantly. Where others followed Peruzzi soon led, where many repeated he invented, but so in the ancient vein as to bring constantly before us the evidence that he did not depart from rule through ignorance, but from the exact knowledge that thus the highest ancient art would have met new requirements.

In the use of "terretta" and sgraffito" he led the way and now we are reviving it crudely in America, although on exteriors it is not suitable for our climate.

What a boon to the drama was the movable scenery and the machinery

for moving it which he invented for Bibbiena's "Calandra" as already mentioned, and from what monotony did he thus relieve the modern stage! All actors and audiences owe him praise for this.

We know that Michel Angelo must have approved of the departure shown in Peruzzi's employment of a bold cornice on the Farnesina, unlike the earlier feeble ones of the Rucellai palace in Florence and the Cancelleria, Rome, which expose the walls to comparatively unrelieved sunlight, for the great Florentine made an even bolder and heavier feature of the cornice which he placed on the Farnese palace after Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's death in 1546.

Peruzzi revived from antiquity the Greek sloping jambs of doorways, the opening decreasing in width toward the top, which when properly designed, is most graceful and good construction; the use of battering or sloping base-ment walls is his, as applied to domestic architecture; and we may yet discover that he used the curved line both in plan and elevation as did the ancients. He invented the introduction of small windows with intermediate ornament in the frieze; he was if not the first, yet among the earliest of the Renaissance artists to adopt the placing of semi-reclining figures in spandrels and children on capitals. Projecting instead of sunken panels, at Siena on the Carmine tower and on the little chapel outside the Porta Camollia and strap-work forming panels on the façades of Vicobello, and other villas, are further proofs of his versatility. In such things there is a record of originality equalled by few of his contemporaries.

> Peruzzi never misplaced ornament. He knew what to use and where to place it and appreciated too the value of contrasting it with plain surfaces, while he has left several examples of his ability to design an interesting building with little or no enrichment. Herein, as in his use of stucco and brick, he was in no way inferior to Palladio or others whose inexpensive methods often have been extolled, but never in Peruzzi's work, as in that of some other men, is the result cheap and unsubstantial.

> He was called the most elegant painter among the architects and the most ingenious architect among the painters. Of his talent for portraiture we can judge very favorably from the painting of Bindo Altoviti now in the Munich Gallery; of Alberto Pio in the Mond Collection; of himself (Frontispiece) and from the excellent heads of donors in his pictures elsewhere. He was also a most accomplished designer of pageants; deeply interested in astrology, and one of the greatest of perspective draughtsmen, according to Milizia, having been credited with the invention of "points of distance" says Larousse, by which is possibly meant vanishing points, and according to Vasari he was exceedingly skilled in the use of grotesques of great elegance. His paintings of sacrifices, bacchanalian and battle scenes are executed with an enthusiastic spirit rarely equalled, as in his battle detail on the front for San Petronio (Pl. 44). His frescoes place him, in spite of certain mannerisms, in the front rank of draughtsmen and colorists, but besides this his superb ceilings, decorations and friezes show a strong grasp

of the principles of mural decoration revealed not merely in the use of architectural ornament which is its most important accessory, but in the grouping of figures, in color and in general composition. Indeed the late Professor Anderson who greatly admired his works, says: "The Sistine chapel is justified by its success but the golden mean of a union of truthful architecture and appropriate decoration is attained with happier results in the interior of the Villa Farnesina and the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne".

Mr. Berenson says in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March 1896: "In his youth Peruzzi, inspired by the exquisite simplicity of the Umbrians and the decorative feeling of the Sienese school, is a charming painter. It is in just this phase of his art that we see him represented by two panels belonging to Mrs. Gardner (Boston), each of which has for its subject a young warrior (of the Medici family), with landscape. The figures, attitudes, armor, ornaments, all recall Peruzzi as we know him in his early paintings, in the decorations for the Stanza of Heliodorus in the Vatican and in certain other little known works, as for instance in an altar picture with the Virgin, the Donor, Saint Sebastian and Saint James, in the villa Albani at Rome, and attributed to Signorelli.

"A companion piece to these two figures is in the museums at Tours; it represents a young warrior armed with a hatchet".

A volume could be written on his talent for all this work, but here it is enough to say that his knowledge of painting must have helped immensely in his architectural work, especially in the selection of materials with reference to texture, color and composition. That he knew also the full value of rich materials and how to treat them is assured by his superb high altar at Siena, but in general he used from necessity the simplest mediums and did not disdain stucco when he had to accept it, a hint which he probably got from its ancient use, and from Giovanni da Udine, who is said to have rediscovered a way to make it enduring.

In the use of brick and terra cotta he is an unrivalled master, seeming to feel their great possibilities and limitations, but in all materials he never tried to go beyond the logical limit.

In the stone and marble work of his day the jointing was done much as it is now; emphasis was obtained by dressing and by a careful study of the scale of stone and marble blocks for each building. San Gallo and later men have run the gamut of effects in alternating low and high courses of stone, in making some with rounded edges, and margin drafts, and others with vermicular patterns, but Peruzzi seldom if ever strayed far afield in such experiments.

Sansovino, Sanmicheli, Vignola, and later Palladio, profited much from him, indeed the first two, Anderson states, had their definite "Peruzzi manner" and his influence, we know, was considerable upon others.

Of his numerous engineering designs, including irrigation projects, fortifications and bastions, and his inventions of machinery mills, a "pestio" or

"Catorcio" with secret letters, a screw press and hosts of others, the Uffizi has many, showing great versatility and a broad range of interests.

Anderson says, quoting from a French writer, "By common consent he was placed at the head of such men as San Gallo, Michel Angelo and Raphael, because of his genius and talents, and the degree to which he contributed to the glory of the age; but the modesty of his character and his lack of ambition has robbed him of these honors, and his merits, appreciated alone by artists, repose almost without fame". Yet it is true that a man who so constantly worked and studied possessed ambition of the finest kind.

> Of Peruzzi's several pupils and followers, one of the most noted was Sebastiano Serlio, of Bologna, an architect of considerable talent. He was born in Bologna in 1475, and spent the years from 1511-14 in Pesaro, going then to Rome, and afterward to Venice where he was busy on the Palazzo Zeno and designed in 1534 the church of San Francesco della Vigna and the Palazzo Bembo (now Correr). He went also to Pola, Dalmatia to study its Roman remains. While in Venice he was favorably known and attracted the attention of the Doge Andrea Grilli. Later he studied the antiquities of Ancona, Spoleto and Rome where he composed his work in five books entitled "*Regole Generali de Architettura*", 1549, Venice. He sent a copy to Francis I. who presented him with 300 gold crowns and asked him to Paris, whither he went in 1541 with his family, and was appointed architect at Fontainebleau. He was also invited to plan the court of the Louvre, but generously recommended the plan of Lescot as superior to his own. After Francis' death he returned to Lyons, where he had little to live upon, but returned afterward to Fontainebleau and died there in 1552. He probably also completed some of Peruzzi's buildings in Bologna and may have done other works there from his own designs. P. Selvatico in praising Peruzzi's work¹ says that Serlio's books are really Peruzzi's material edited by Serlio, which is perhaps what Serlio wished to convey without actually saying so. Lomazzo (p. 14 in "*Idea del Tempio*") directly accuses Serlio of plagiarism in using the actual work of Peruzzi, but in view of what Serlio declares, this charge hardly holds. The Ferrarese, Jacopo Melighino, finally made architect-in-chief by Paul III., fell heir to most of Peruzzi's manuscripts and drawings of ancient Rome, but it would seem that Serlio later possessed a very large part of them.

Peruzzi's son, Giovanni Sallustio (or Salvestro, or Salverio), married, had children and inherited his father's talent to a degree, for the Uffizi possesses several of his drawings of ancient buildings and he is known to have done work for the Austrian Emperor Maximilian II., in 1567, and for Paul IV. the "gateways of the Castle of St. Angelo". Onofrio or Onorio (Honorius) became a monk and the lives of the other children are not noteworthy.

P. Ugurgieri mentions Tommaso Pomarelli of Siena as a disciple.

¹ In "*Storia Estetico-Critica delle arte del Disegno*".

Francesco da Siena was also a pupil, from whom Vasari obtained the likeness of Peruzzi, shown in the early editions of the "Lives". Very little is known of this artist, but Vasari speaks of him with praise and as Peruzzi's "creature and disciple", and also mentions a certain Pierantonio Salimbeni (who received Peruzzi's sketch book) as another pupil, and, as among his distinguished pupils, Tommasino della Spezia whom Il Ferri names as architect of a building, unlocated by me, which served as a custom house in Siena as recently as 1859. Daniele da Volterra, or Ricciarelli, was also for a time in Peruzzi's studio and at another time worked under Bazzi.

One of his best trained and most careful pupils and followers was Antonio Maria di Paolo Lari, "Il (or Del) Tozzo" born in Siena in 1503, both painter and architect. In the years after Peruzzi's death he did considerable work for the Sienese government, as its records show, and like Serlio may have completed some of the master's work.

Giovanni Battista Peloro was another Sienese architect and pupil of Peruzzi, while Riccio of Siena, son-in-law of Bazzi, T. Pelegret of Toledo, Spain, G. Philandrier of Rodez, France, and Vergilio of Rome were painters who were instructed by Peruzzi, as was A. Rozzo.

It is possible that through Pelegret the designs of Peruzzi now in the Prado and Escorial reached Spain, and one in Montpellier, France (Gallerie des Beaux Arts) may have been carried to France by Philandrier.

The Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana gives, as Peruzzi's most famous pupil among painters, "Momo" or "Girolamo da Siena".

That Peruzzi's genius never found full expression in a great construction such as St. Peter's, all lovers of architecture must regret, for in all probability he would have built a grand church. His dome would hardly have surpassed Michel Angelo's but it would have been in harmony with his entire plan. Moreover, both inside and out he would not have failed to enrich it with better details than those of the present church.

Peruzzi's fame has suffered because the exact location of his tomb in the Pantheon is unknown and the building does not even contain an epitaph or bust of him. These conditions seem like a continuation of the strange fatality that pursued him while living, and if a rival caused his death, the same envious influence may have soon destroyed his epitaph. He was a man deeply engrossed in his work and this and his reserve kept him from many intimate friendships and deprived him of the greater protection and hero-worship which Michel Angelo, Raphael and others received. Had he left an autobiography as Cellini did, or even been able to finish his treatise on Rome, his fame would have been more widespread, but he evidently could not or would not put himself forward and so the world only appreciated him at a part of his full worth, and the obliteration of his epitaph passed unnoticed.

The Romans gladly employed him, admired his talent and respected his fine qualities, but no doubt many clients took advantage of him, often paying him very little or else forgetting their obligations entirely. This was the

experience of many great artists during the Renaissance. Cellini especially complains of the neglect which he suffered from Popes and princes, who failed to pay him promptly or at all. The Medici, Paul III., Francis I., and others are so often spoken of as forgetful, to say the least, that appreciation of talent and forgetfulness of obligations seem purposely to have gone hand in hand. At his death Rome, as a whole woke to the fact that Italy had lost a great artist, mourned him, buried him near Raphael and soon, in the troubled times following, turned to more urgent things, but it is strange that no later attempt has ever been made to place his bust in the Pantheon and renew the mortuary inscription.

It is however, not too late to right all this injustice; men of his stamp are so rare that humanity cannot for its own sake afford to disregard his rightful claims to its gratitude. For besides artistic qualities, most of his characteristics were among the noblest which men can possess, his teaching of the highest rank, and his legacy is the fact that what really counts now as then, is the high aim in life and art, not alone pecuniary success.

Signor D. Gnoli remarks¹ that "the city of Rome ought to have his epitaph re-cut and placed not far from the tomb of Raphael. It is a disgrace that anyone visiting the Pantheon is not able to find the name of the great architect buried there".

During the last quarter of a century his fame generally, but especially in England and America, has been steadily and rapidly increasing, as shown by the appreciative articles in various periodicals and the increasing discussion of his genius among architects and painters. Already the fragmentary Peruzzian bibliography in many forms is most extensive. It is therefore possible to hope that his admirers, whether of his own or of all nationalities, will eventually place in the Pantheon a duplicate of the excellent bust of him made in 1853 by Giovanni Duprè, and now on the wall of the Accademia di Belle Arti at Siena, and replace the epitaph which Vasari gives.

When we look back upon Peruzzi's life it is impossible to fully realize the dark side of it; time obliterates the worst features of all such conditions. Yet, if we cannot fully appreciate the sufferings and disappointments we can clearly see through it all his never failing pluck and his confident happiness in work. Poverty, neglect and sickness apparently were to him mere phases made tolerable by his great vitality. It must have been a stout and cheerful heart that could endure such a life, ever overcoming disappointment and forgetting ill-treatment to begin new works, for in all of these we can trace the delight of the one who invents and creates, the incomparable joy of the artist.

¹ In "L'Archivio Storico dell'Arte", Rome.

THE PERUZZI GENEALOGY
ACCORDING TO MILANESI AND OTHER RECORDS

Peruzzo.



Salvadore. (wife unknown)



Salvestro, married Lionda di Enrico D'Alemagna.



Giovanni, weaver of Volterra. (wife unknown)



Desiderio Maria.

Born Feb. 15, 1475.

{ Pietro (according to record, or note of a deed, in the acc. book of the Confraternita dei Lombardi, dated 1511. This is near the church of S. S. Ambrogio e Carlo, (San Carlo al Corso), Via del Corso, Rome), painter probably.



Baldassare Thomasso. Arch. & painter.

b. Siena, Mar. 7, 1480-d., Rome, Jan. 6, 1536,

Married Lucrezia d'Antonio del Matarasso (painter), probably about 1528.



Virginia.



Giovanni Salvestro or " Sallustio arch. & engineer, married and had sons.

Simone.

Onorio, or Onofrio Dominican friar & painter.

Claudio | Emilia | Sulpizia

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List of Works Attributed to Peruzzi

Including Certain Sketch Plans, Paintings, etc.
in and near Siena

AUTHORITIES.

"C. W." means Character of Work itself.

- Vasari— 1501—Chapel of San Giovanni, in Duomo, with Pintoricchio. Contains the "Vigil of San Giovanni" and his "Preaching in the Wilderness," etc.
- Berenson— 1527—Badly preserved Fresco Sketch near the arch of
C. W.— the "due Porte."
- Bedford— In the "Opera of the Duomo, design for the "Porticato of the Piazza Pubblico, made for Pandolfo Petrucci, drawing by Pomarelli from Peruzzi's design.
- C. W.— 1523-27—Three ceilings in the Pollini palace—1—Subject from Roman History. 2—Adoration of the Magi.
Milanesi— (Pl. 66.) 3—History of Susannah and the Elders.
- Bedford— Ceiling in the Nerucci-Piccolomini palace; ornamented
C. W.— plaster and painted panels.
- Nouvelle
Biographie . Piccolomini-Bellanti palace, The Continenence of Scipio.
Generale—
- Lanzi— Holy Family, in possession of the Sergardi family of Siena.
- Della Valle— 1528—Fresco in church of Fontegiusta of "The Sibyl Foretelling to the Emperor Augustus The Birth of Christ." Sketch of it in Peruzzi's Siena Sketch book and another study (Pl. 68) in Metropolitan Museum, New York.
- P. Della Valle— "Deeds of Moses" painting at Villa Vicobello.
- C. W.— Three paintings in the house of Signor Selvi.
Romagnoli—
- C. W. & hand- 1528-30—Sketch books in the Biblioteca Comunale
writing. with pen and ink portrait of self.

- Nouv. Biog. Generale. 1520-21—In Mocenni palace, three "traits de l'histoire de Jonah."
- C. W.—Frescoes after 1505 in many vaulted rooms of the Villa Mieli (Le Volte).
- C. W.—1535—Frescoes at Villa Belcaro; a "Judgment of Paris" (Pl. 74), classical subjects, birds and lattices (Pl. 76), Four Evangelists, Martyrdom of Saints, Madonna and Child, and Arms of Turamini family dated 1535.
- Lanzi—In Parish church of Bibbiano or Torre Bibbiana, or
Larouse. (Dict.)—Torre-Balbiana, altar-piece of Virgin and Child, St. John
G. Della and St. Jerome.
Valle—
- G. Della At Ansano-a-Dòfana, a Madonna and Child. At Cerreto-
Valle— Ciampoli, a Nativity, in the Chapel, with S. S. Bernard, John the Baptist and Jerome and Joseph, and, above the arch, the Eternal Father—Two doors in the "Casa di S. S. Cioni." (See also under "Boston, Mass.")
- The Brescianini "Holy Family" at Siena attributed to Peruzzi, and also to Pacchiarotto (by Della Valle), but the outlines and the Child and the Virgin are in manner Peruzzian.
- Uffizi—Plan for alteration of Church of S. Domenico. (Pl. 84).

IN AND NEAR SIENA. ARCHITECTURE

- C. W.—Chapel outside the Porta Camollia (Pl. 54).
- Matas—1501-4—Chapel of San Giovanni in the Duomo.
1505—Villa Chigi-Mieli near Siena (Pl. 7-8).
- Matas—1507—Church of San Sebastiano (degli Innocenti), in Via Vallepiazza (Pl. 6).
- Baedeker—1508—Martirio of San Ansano-a-Dòfana, 5½ miles
C. W. from Siena.
- Tradition—Fonte di Pescaia.
- C. W. & 1523-29—Parts of the city walls, Bastion and seven
Vasari— gates including Pispina, Laterina, San Prospero, and Camollia (Pl. 46).
- Burckhardt—1527—Cloister of the Osservanza (Pl. 87), opposite Siena.

- Milanesi— 1527—Cloister of the Carmine (Pl. 71) and Tower
Uffizi Coll.— (Pl. 70).
- “ “ 1527—Cloister of San Martino (Pl. 20-58).
- “ “ 1527—Cloister (Pl. 56) of the House of St. Catherine
and Court.
- Geymüller— Doors of the House of St. Catherine.
- Hill— Organ Case in the Church of the Ospedale.
Organ Case in the Duomo (Pl. 53).
- Vasari— Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala and ceiling in same
(Pl. 52).
1519—Church of San Spirito, front and doorway for
Bishop Girolamo Piccolomini of Pienza.
- Milanesi— 1532—High altar of Duomo and Apse decoration of
Pilasters, also Main Doors and the Steps, and Balustrade
to pulpit of Pisano.
- Matas— Design of Altar for Duomo, Siena; now is in Palazzo
Reale in Turin (Pl. 73.).
- Grandjean & House with round arches and Madonna enshrined on
Famin—C. W. first story exterior on Via del Corso (old name).
- Milanesi— Marble Seat in Loggia della Mercanzia or Casino di
Nobili, carved by Marrina (Pl. 59).
- Riccio— Church of San Giuseppe (Pl. 60).
Church of the Servi, Interior, at least (Pl. 69).
- Milanesi & 1523-4-7—Pollini (or Celsi) palace (Pl. 66-67).
C. W. & Oratorio della Selva.
frescoes. Building at right of Pal. del'Papesse.
- Milanesi & 1520-5—Mocenni or Francesconi palace, via Cavour near
Plan in the Lizza (Pl. 55).
Uffizi—
- C. W.— Turchi or Diavoli palace (Pl. 83).
Strack— Chapel of same.
- C. W.— House No. 24 Via Baldassare Peruzzi (Pl. 57).
- C. W.— 1531—Church of Valli beyond Porta Romana.
Villa at Torrè Bibbiana, 18 miles from Siena, for Car-
dinal Petrucci.

- Della Valle— 1528—Restoration of Ponte all 'Orcia at Bagni dei Vignoni and plans for fortifications (1529) of Asciano, Chianciano, Sarteano, Chiusi, Torrita, Bridge of Buon-convento, etc.
- Della Valle— Gateway and Chapel at Cerreto-Ciampoli.
- Uffizi—
C. W. 1525—Villa Belcaro (Pl. 74-75-76).
- Romagnoli— Villa Saracini, Interior.
Villa of Signor Lodoli, suburbs near Porta Pispina.
- C. W. and
Frescoes— Villa Vicobello (Pl. 17).
- Cesare Peruzzi—
- C. W.— Villa Santa Colomba (Pl. 61) about the date of the
Baedeker fresco of the Presentation in S. M. della Pace, Rome, probably after 1516.
- Burckhardt— 1527—Villa Celsa. Probably not the original building, but chapel court, etc. (Pl. 62-45B-46).
- A. Ricci L'Apparita or Podra delle Loggie, near Villa Nerucci
V. Mariani— (Pl. 1).
C. W.
- Bedford— Church Tower like the Carmine, between Santa Colomba and Celsa villas.

MONTE SANSAVINO—ARCHITECTURE

- Uffizi— Plan of Church of San Agostino.

MONTEPUCIANO

- C. W. & other
authorities— Contucci or del Monte palace (Pl. 83). A. San Gallo the Elder and Peruzzi.
- Uffizi— 1519—Designs for Ricci palace and another little house
Via Cavour No. 27 and House Via Ricci No. 9.

PORT' ERCOLE

- Vasari— 1531—Designs for Casemates.

CASTIGLIONE DELLA PESCAIA

- Uffizi— Plans for a house near there for heirs of Silvio Piccolomini.

CASTEL NUOVO DELLA BERARDEGNA

Uffizi— Plan for Church and Monastery.

RAPOLANO

Uffizi— Plan for house for Vescovo Venturini.

MONTE ANTICO

Uffizi— Plan for enlarging "Casa di Belgrado."

CARPI

Vasari, Semper, 1511—Design for La Rotonda, destroyed in XVII. cen-
Campori— tury.
Baedeker 1517--20—Much of the Church of San Niccolò (Pl.
Spaccini— 29).
Semper— 1514—Model for Duomo, for Alberto Pio (Pl. 28).
The Great Portico or Arcade (Pl. 31).
1515—Front of Oratory, "La Sagra" (Pl. 30-31).

TODI

Milanesi, The five-domed church of S. M. della Consolazione (Pl.
Fletcher— 36).

VENICE

Crowe & In the Seminario a design "Penelope Spinning" is in a
Cavalcaselle— Peruzzian vein.

BOLOGNA—PAINTING

Vasari— Design for Count Battista Bentivogli, "Adoration of the
Magi", engraved, 1579, by Agostino Caracci, now in
National Gallery, London.

Lanzi— At S. Michele in Bosco, Monte Oliveto, Bologna, Deco-
rations "in Grottesche."

BOLOGNA—ARCHITECTURE

Vasari— 1522-34—Designs for San Petronio, now in Sacristy.
Gaye— Detail for San Petronio façade (Pl. 44).
Geymüller—

- Lamo— 1522—Fioresi or Monari Palace in Via Galliera for Pan-
Bedford & filio dal Monte (Pl. 49).
others—
- Malaguzzi Lambertini Palace (destroyed).
Valeri—
- Pietro 1522-40-84-1612—Albergati Palace (Pl. 47).
Lamo—
- Bedford— 1543-44—Boncompagni, now Benelli palace, courtyard
C. W. and entrance doorway from street (Pl. 48)
- C. W. 1522—Large window, ground floor, Pal. Pubblico with
columns and eagles (Pl. 50).
- C. W. 1522—Central doorway under the colonnade leading
from the court of Pal. Pubblico (Pl. 50).
- Malaguzzi 1522—In Church of San Procolo, colored bas-relief of
Valeri— "Adoration of the Magi", closed by little door under
organ.
- Malaguzzi Valeri—1522-23—At Church of San Domenico, the brick chapel
Ghisilardi, later Malvasia, on left of front of church (Pl.
38).
1522-23—Part of Church of Madonna Galliera, door on
left of front (Pl. 46).
- Many authors. At San Michele in Bosco, near Bologna, a doorway (Pl.
51), and decoration of pilasters of Apse.

FLORENCE—PAINTING, ETC.

Holy Family in the Pitti Palace collection (Pl. 86), many sketches in the Uffizi Collection of Designs (*Galleria dei Disegni e Stampi*), including a "Marriage of Rebecca", with a portrait of himself at left end. It hangs framed in the Director's Room (1914) and is No. 244 Bis.—Also many designs of Architecture, Ornament, Engineering, etc. See Milanesi's comprehensive catalogue of Peruzzi's drawings in the Uffizi. Especially a fine design of a grand façade with figures of men and women in foreground—and a fine project for ceiling decoration.

FERRARA

Lanzi— 1527—Palace Sacrati and Doorway (Pl. 18).

VITERBO

Della Valle— Panteone di Pontremoli (Ponte Tremoli) (Pl. 63), i.e.
Bedford— Santa Elisabetta or S. M. della Peste. Also buildings
(possibly) non-existing, at Ferentium or Ferento near
Viterbo, possibly those mentioned by Vasari as "built on
the road leading to Viterbo", for the Orsini.

CAPRAROLA

Milanesi— 1528-30—Original designs for the pentagonal Farnese
Villa, finished by San Gallo and Vignola (Pl. 72). Other
studies at Siena and Vienna for this.

CHIUSI

Berenson— Duomo, in Sacristy "Madonna & Saints."

APULIA

Vasari— Some plans for yet unidentified (if built) buildings, "to
be constructed in Apulia."

MILAN

C. W.— Collection Conte Gioivo—"Dido and Aeneas."

MADRID

Bedford— Two early paintings in Prado Museum formerly attrib-
uted to Early Umbrian School. Possibly carried to
Berenson— Spain by Peruzzi's pupil T. Pelegret of Toledo. They
are called No. 574, "The Continnence of Scipio" and
"Rape of the Sabines," No. 573.

ENGLAND

Berenson— Sir Henry Howarth, 30 Collingham Place, London,
S.W., owned a picture pronounced Peruzzi's.

*Winter Exhibition of the Grosvenor Gallery,
1877-8*

Grosvenor
Gallery
Catalogue

William Russell, Esq., loaned a sketch No. 730, in pen and bistre by Peruzzi, a Virgin and Child and Children (signed) from Collection Le Goy. E. Cheney, Esq. loaned another No. 738, "Adoration of the Kings", a pricked cartoon pen drawing. The National Gallery, London, owns the "Adoration of the Magi" (His last style) in chiaroscuro with the portraits of Raphael, Michel Angelo and Titian as the Kings, also a copy of a similar subject in oil, on a wooden panel, presented by Lord Vernon in 1837.

C. W.—

Sketch for architectural design—Chatsworth Collection—
Photo Braun & Cie.

*Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch Esq.
by*

J. C. Robinson, January 5, 1869, London—Chiswick Press (as follows):

SIENESE SCHOOL

London—
Chiswick
Press—

No. 137—St. Helena, the Mother of Constantine Witnessing the Discovering of the True Cross—Bistre wash on brownish tinted paper heightened with white.

No. 138—Bacchanalian Scene—crowded composition of many figures—panthers, elephants, etc. A highly finished pen drawing in bistre, heightened with white on brown paper.

*Drawings by the Old Masters in the Library of
Christ Church, Oxford.*

C. F. Bell, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914

A Political Allegory D. 27 (Lely Collection)

Elevation of the Pantheon }
Plan of the Pantheon } Z-1

Section of the Pantheon }
Section of vestibule, } Z-2
and attributed to him, i.e.

A "Virgin and Infant Christ and Other Figures"—D. 28.
Holy Family, W. 4-5 and Virgin & Christ, W. 6.

*In the Sale of the Collection of Rev. Dr. Wellesley,
Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford.
By Sotheby, London*

No. 1440—Baldassare da Siena—"A female seated, a book in one hand, a serpent in the other. Red chalk, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

*In "Drawings and Sketches", Henry Reveley, Esq.
1820*

Longman, Hurst & Rees, London

Page 35 notes a "Drawing in the Crozat Collection, of "figures and a lion", pen drawing washed and heightened.

Bridgewater House

"Adoration of the Magi."

Collection of Dr. Mond, London

Berenson—

"Portrait of Alberto Pio of Capri, A.D. 1512"—
(Braun photo.).

ROME

Painting—Designs

Fresco at Ostia, destroyed except "The Three Graces" now in the Chigi Palace. (First or Early Style.)

Fresco—Two Chapels San Rocco-à-Ripa, Rome. (First or Early Style.) (Pl. 9).

Fresco in Apse of San Onofrio. (Early Style.)
Madonna, Child, St. John and Saint, Doria Gallery
(Pl. 86).

Holy Family by Peruzzi, belonging to Cav. Cavaceppi.

Vatican. A frescoed corridor for Pope Julius II., now destroyed—Subject—Months and Seasons.

1529—Colossal figures of St. Antoine and St. Benone in church of the Anima. (Destroyed?)

Della Valle—

1528—Fresco opposite church of San Salvatore in Lauro (now destroyed?), Sibyl Foretelling to the Emperor Augustus the Birth of Christ (Pl. 68).

- Berenson— Villa Albani—"Madonna and Saints Lawrence and James and Donor" (Early Style).
- Frizzoni— Historical paintings in Palazzo dei Conservatori in Cam-
Berenson— podoglio, formerly attributed to Bonfigli and Alessandro
Botticelli, Sala IV., Judith—Roman Triumph (Early
Style) Sala VII., Hannibal in Italy.
- Vasari— 1500-9—Five mosaic ceilings in crypt of Santa Croce in
and others. Gerusalemme. Our Saviour (centre). Four ovals at
Sides of Four Evangelists and above are The Making
of the Cross, Four Saints and kneeling figure of the
donor Cardinal Carvajal (Pl. 10).
- Crowe & Paintings on ceilings of Camera D'Eliodoro, Vatican, all
Cavalcaselle— but one part which was finished by Raphael's pupils.
Berenson says only the decorative portion, or framework.
(Early work.)
- Vasari— 1511-18—At the Farnesina Villa, Trastevere, exterior
Venturi— decorations in "terretta", now destroyed. Ceiling of Hall
Berenson— and Head in black crayon in lunette, on ground floor
Letarouilly— toward the Tiber, next to garden entrance Hall, or Hall
of Cupid and Psyche in 1st Story. (Second Style.)
- Frescoes in room on ground floor toward Corsini palace.
Also Room I. in second story, views of Rome seen between
painted dark marble columns and above them a classic,
storied frieze.
- Vasari— 1516—Fresco of the Ponzetti Chapel in S. M. della
Pace (Second Style), Madonna and Child and two
Saints and donor Ferrando Ponzetti (Pl. 33).
In same church "Presentation in the Temple," for Filippo
Sergardi of Siena. (First Style.) (Pl. 34.)
"Rape of the Sabines" now in Chigi Palace. (Second
Style.)
- Vasari— Barrel vaulted ceiling in the Cancelleria palace with
Ingres— penetrations of round arches, fresco of Creation, etc. See
Grüner— Letarouilly. This room is at rear corner, first story
Letarouilly— above street and looks out on Corso V. Emanuele and
on the rear garden. Figures and ornament on gold back-
ground. (Second Style.)

- Moscioni—
& C. W. In chapel off of cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro, three ceiling frescoes, Creation of Eve, the Temptation, and Two Saints. The gesture of one figure in latter panel recalls clearly that of the Sybil in Fontegiusta, Siena. This chapel belongs to the Sodalizio dei Piceni of Rome. (Second Style.)
- Vasari—
Frizzoni— Design, engraved, in grisaille of Hercules driving Avarice laden with gold and silver vessels, from Mt. Parnassus, "The Muses being in fine and varied postures", is now in Biblioteca Corsiniana as a Wood Engraving on three blocks signed "Bal. Sen." and "Peruzzi." (Second Style.) Beatrice also engraved this.
- Grüner— Fresco in Palace Poniatowski (later Giorgi) near the Villa of Pope Julius. (Second Style); the ceiling of the Salon vaulted with penetrations. Centre Panel, Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon and arabesques in Pompeian style. Question as to how much Peruzzi had to do with the design of the building itself, perhaps considerable. (See Grüner.)
- Berenson— Corsini Gallery—"Flight into Egypt."
- Biographie
Universelle— In church of Ara Coeli, Rome, frescoes or paintings in the chapel of the Transfiguration, also painting on door of the Sacristy.
- Berenson— Museo Cristiano. Case S. VIII. "Marriage of St. Catherine."
- Lermolieff— Collection of Prince Hohenzollern of Sigmaringen, Germany, a sketch of "Adoration of the Magi", Tapestry from it now in Vatican. Another version in England, in Oxford University Collection, wrongly ascribed to Raphael.
- Venus from the Bath—painting in the Borghese Gallery, Draperies added. (Second Style.)

DRAWINGS IN THE UFFIZI

Among the more important of the drawings of Peruzzi in the Uffizi are designs for the "Mantellate di Santa Monica", in the old market at Siena; for the palace Del Monte for Count Ricci at Montepulciano built in 1519, on the Duomo Piazza. Also a plan for the church of "S. Salva-

tore and Monastery" houses, etc., location unknown; for a fortified construction at Castelnovo della Berardegna near Siena; for candelabra and canephoræ; for a house for Bishop Venturini at Rapolano; for a house at Castiglione della Pescaia for the heirs of Silvio Piccolomini, near Siena. For S. Giovanni in Fiorentini, finally built by San Gallo; for Madonna della Penna; for Santa Maria in Vallicella (called "Chiesa Nuova") finally built by others in 1580; for a palace for the Bishop of Amalfi; a palace for the Cardinal of Capua; a very extensive and interesting palace for Conte di Pitigliano (Orsini), on the ruins of the Baths of Agrippa of which design Von Geymüller wrote a good monograph; for a house for Cardinal Cesarino; the reconstruction of Santa Maria Libertatrice and its monastery, on the ruins of Tempio dell' Divo Augusto, Rome; a circular church to be built near the Campodoglio on the ruins of an old edifice; for S. Giacomo in Augusta, Corso, Rome (Pl. 18); for the church of San Agostino at Monte San Savino; fortifications for Chianciano, Sarteano (Val di Chiana), and a Castello. Another drawing shows fortifications of Tunis, and various other North African cities near by, all of which are rich in suggestion and inspiration, and it may be that certain of the buildings and fortifications were erected as planned and have been forgotten in their respective locations, although still standing.

ROME—ARCHITECTURE

- | | |
|--|--|
| Vasari— | 1503-9—Part of Church of San Rocco-à-Ripa (Pl. 9). |
| Dictionary of Architecture, by Arch. Pub. Society, London. | "Ospedale dei Eretici Convertiti", formerly the Palace Spinola, and "degli Eretici Ravveduti" near the piazza of St. Peters—both with Bramante—as was the "Casa de Rafaello," and Palace Vidoni (Giustiniani-Bandini) 1503-6 (Pl. 11). |
| Vasari & Fabio Chigi | Farnesina Villa, Casino, Loggia and Stables, in Trastevere (Pl. 12-13). 1508-19. |
| L. Callari | Church of San Eligio, Peruzzi and Raphael (Pl. 21). |
| Matas— | Casino for Pope Julius II., in Vatican, now destroyed. |
| Uffizi Collection— | Portico of S. M. in Domnica, 1512 (Pl. 14). |
| Larousse Dictionary— | Palace Savelli (now Nugari) Nos. 11-12 Vicolo Savelli, now much altered. See Callari's "I Palazzi di Roma", p. 339. |

- Percier & Fontaine— Little Palace in Strada del Borgo Vecchio. Four windows, ground floor and groined circular arched doorway. Three stories high with groins at corners of building and square attic windows.
- Letarouilly— Medici Palace in Via Giulia between church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini and Palace Sacchetti and next to former Collegio Banderelli (Pl. 14-22).
- Larousse— Large part and especially the door of the Palace of the Cardinal of Corneto, once Torlonia, now Giraud, on Borgo Nuovo, piazza Scossacavalli.
- Serlio,
Uffizi and
private col-
lections— Plan and numerous studies for St. Peter's Church.
- Letarouilly & P. & F. House in Strada de Chiavari at Piazza dei Satiri—Number on Nolli's ancient plan of Rome is "vers le No. 633." Fine Staircase. Bas-reliefs in Court Walls. House No. 5 Via Governo Vecchio.
- Window and balcony of the Palace dei Convertendi on Borgo Nuovo, beyond the piazza Scossacavalli.
- Letarouilly 1525—Ossoli Palace at Corner of Vicolo dei Balestrari and Piazza Spada (Pl. 15-16).
- Letarouilly— Ricciardi, or Costa Palace, Borgo Nuovo, also attributed
Baedeker— to San Gallo and Raphael, but a sketch in the Uffizi, drawn by "Ciro Ferri, from Peruzzi", would seem to prove it Peruzzi's design. First story rusticated. Flat arches over windows and doors (Pl. 25).
- Vasari— 1524-9—Tomb of Adrian VI., in S. M. Dell'Anima and also the three entrance doors of this church.
- Letarouilly— Chigi Chapel (with Raphael) in S. M. del Popolo (Pl.
Lalande— 19).
- Letarouilly— House No. 7, Via di Parione and fine frescoes (Pl. 24).
- 1534.6—Palace Altemps, Piazza Fiametta, finished by Martino Lunghi (Pl. 65).
- Letarouilly & Grüner— Little Palace Altieri, Via Delfini XI. 9, with fine frescoed loggia on "piano nobile", in little court.

- Serlio— Palace Orsini in ancient Theatre of Marcellus, and doorway (Pl. 23).
- Letarouilly— A house in Via Mortserratato VIII. 6. Motto on frieze of doorway, "Trahit Sua Quemque Voluptas (Pl. 23).
- Letarouilly— Vigna di Papa Giulio on Via Flaminia (Pl. 27).
- Worthington
& C. W.— House next to Lante Palace, Piazza Caprettari, showing pure Peruzzian details (Pl. 23) like Palace Ossoli. About 1525.
House No. 5 Via Governo Vecchio (Pl. 23).
- Le Monnier's
Edit. of Vasari.
Burckhardt. Church and convent of Santa Spirito in Sassia, Trastevere. Palazetto Spada in Via di Capo di Ferro (not the Palazzo Spada) (Pl. 26).
- Uffizi— Villa at Salone, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Rome for Cardinal Trivulzi, and frescoes therein (Pl. 17).
- Vasari
and Others. Massimi palace, 1532-7, for Pietro and Angelo Massimi (Pl. 77-78).
Chapel of the King of France, St. Peter's.
Palace No. 35 Via Capelle.

PARIS

Drawings, etc.

- Frizzoni— In Louvre. "Triumph of a Roman Emperor", (wrongly attributed to Mantegna), reproduced by Marc Antonio Raimondi, also "Madonna covering with a veil the sleeping Infant Jesus."
"Notice des Dessins Places Des Galleries du Musee Royale au Louvre." Paris, 1841, i.e.,
- Müntz— Musee des Beaux Arts. Sketch of Nude Figures.
Catalogue—
No. 492—Sketch for "Presentation in the Temple," pen drawing in wash heightened with white.
No. 493—"Adoration of the Magi," pen drawing heightened with white.
No. 494—"La Calomnie d'Appelles," wash drawing heightened with white.
No. 495—Decoration of an altar ornamented with pilasters of the composite order—Pen and wash drawing.
No. 496—Five unknown personages. This drawing is

supposed to have been made from the decoration of a hall in Siena which was part of the building of the Consistorio. Pen and wash drawing.

No. 497—Project of a monument in honor of a Warrior. Pen and wash drawing heightened with white.

No. 498—Composition "Allegorical." (See Vasari's account of Peruzzi). Pen and wash drawing in bistre. (Collections Vasari and Mariette.)

Morelli—Tausia Catalogue—No. 1967—"Episode from Roman History," on screen in Room X, under name of Sodoma, (wrongly).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Collection M. A. Armond

No. 4677. "Venus and Love," a drawing.

Morelli—No. 4678. "The Fall of Phaeton" and "The Judgment of Paris," a design for a ceiling (Uffizi Collection). Morelli thinks, however, this is by Sodoma.

LYONS

Berenson—Painting of Young Medici prince as warrior with axe—other two in Boston, Mass., Gardner Museum.

MONTPELLIER

Montpellier Gallery, No. 577—"A Bust of a Young Man."

TURIN

Head. (Drawing in red and black crayon with features and smile à la Raphael). No. 129. Room V. or VI. in Regia Pinacoteca.

No. 131. "Façade."

In Palazzo Reale. "Design for High Altar of Duomo, Siena." (Last Style.) (Pl. 73.)

"Architecture of Street" (Pl. 82).

BERLIN

Berlin Museum, "Charity." Magazine, 98—"Annunciation." (First Style.)

HANOVER—GERMANY

Frizzoni— "Lucretia Stabbing Herself."—Collection of Herr Kastner.

DRESDEN—GERMANY

Berenson— Study for Hercules. (Second Style.) No. 99.
"Adoration of Magi."

MUNICH

Art Gallery, No. 1052—Portrait of Bindo Altoviti.

MÜNSTER IN W——

Berenson— No. 40—"Madonna and Infant St. John."

VIENNA

Berenson— Court Library. Square plan for Villa of the Farnese at Caprarola. Others at Siena and Florence (Uffizi). In the Albertina also, a design for ornamentation of apse of the Duomo at Siena, also a Design for an Altar; below, the Madonna standing in a niche, and four saints; above The Eternal Father surrounded by angels.

BOSTON, MASS.

Berenson— 1505-10—In Gardner Museum. Two paintings of Medici princes as young warriors.

Berenson
C. W.
G. Della
Valle— Museum of Fine Arts (In storage). Paintings on two small wooden doors of Saints, Sebastian, Christopher, Rocca and Anthony, Abbot. Loaned by Prof. Thomas Whittemore—Sebastian's face is in a "Perugino Manner." These are probably the doors Peruzzi painted at Cerreto-Ciampoli, mentioned by Della Vale.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—U. S. A.

Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts. Five sketches, architectural details and figures.

Early study for the fresco in Fontegiusta, Siena. (Last Style.) (Pl. 68.) Triumph of a Roman Emperor. (Sec-

ond Style.) (Pl. 32.) and "Continenca of Scipio." See "Madrid" (No. 574).

Four sketches in possession of Lawrence Grant White, Esq., i.e. (1) A plan for St. Peter's (Pl. 43). (2) Another plan with letters like Peruzzi's, but embodying Michel Angelo's later executed design with a different nave (Pl. 43). Across the front wall of plan No. 2, is lettered "Il tuto dela muro della fallaia" (?), palmi 292. (3) Two other drawings bearing Peruzzi's name. (4) One other lettered on back "Prospettiva della Bologna" and below it "Vaticano."

For further details of his sketches in the Uffizi Collection and a complete list, see Milanese's catalogue and the Uffizi "Indice Geografico Analitico dei Disegni, etc., Roma, 1895.

ST. LOUIS, MO., U. S. A.

Professor
Elia
Volpi

1510-12—Portrait of Peruzzi in oil by himself (Frontispiece). Owned by Jackson Johnson Esq.



Siena in 1500
"L'Apparita," near Siena

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From Peruzzi's Sketch Book—Siena

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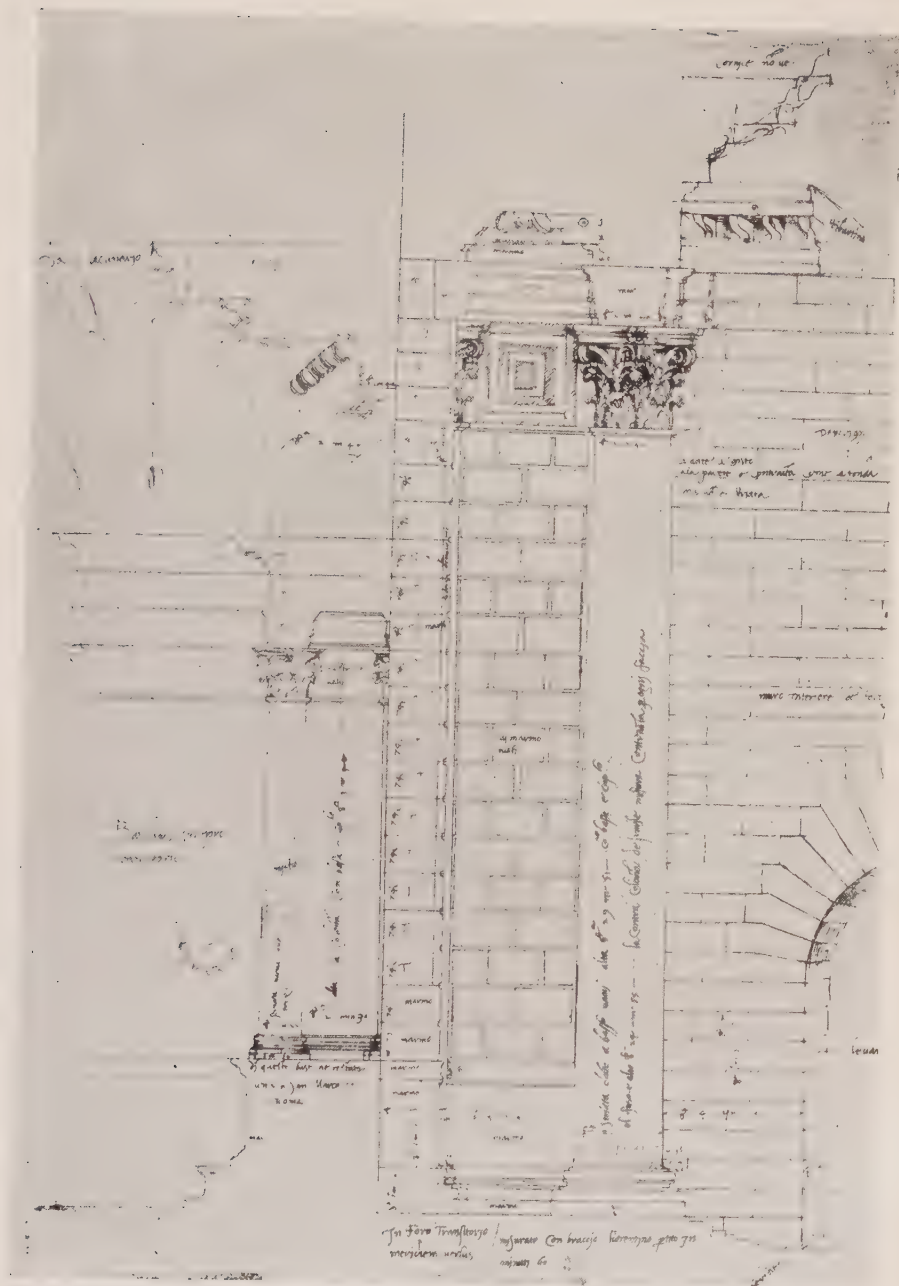
The Doorway of Fonte Giusta—Siena, 1489
By Francesco di Giorgio

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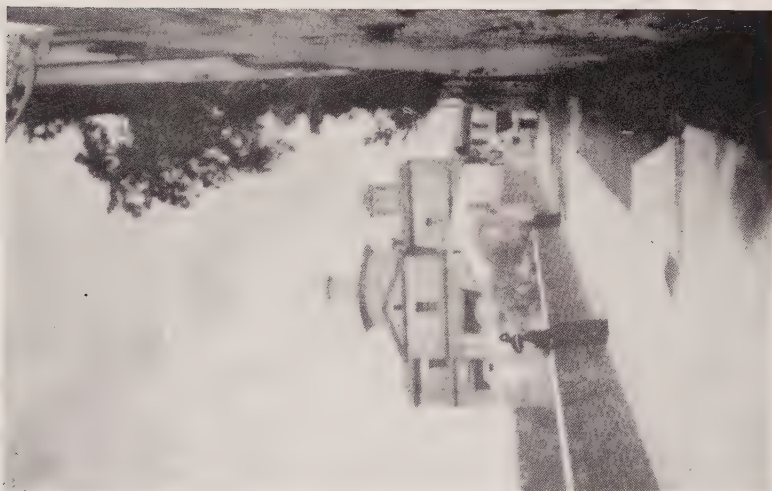
Candelabra Sketches by Peruzzi—Uffizi

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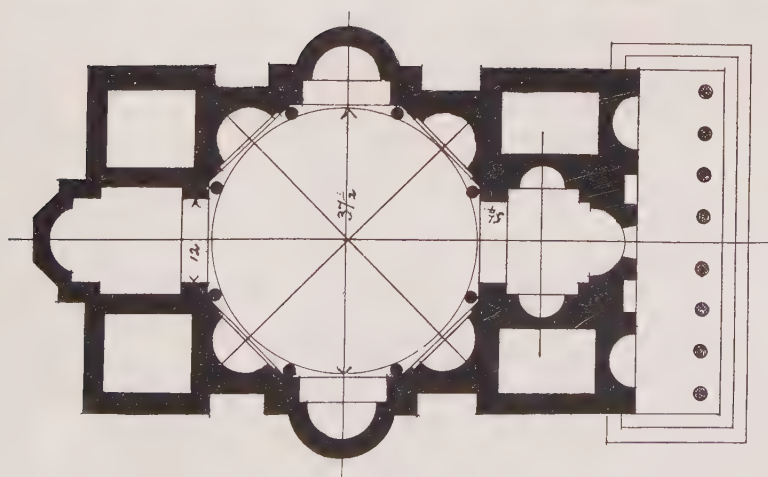


Sketch of Roman Remains—Uffizi

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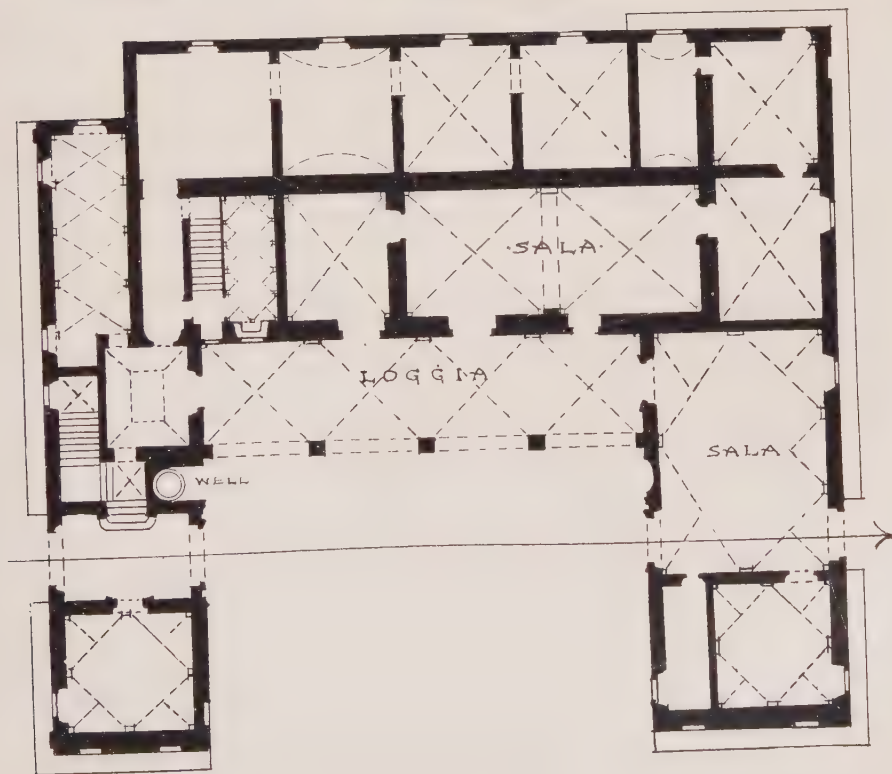


San Sebastiano in Via Vallepiana—Siena



Church Plan
(Uffizi)
(Re-drawn)

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Villa Chigi or "Le Volte," and Rear View—Now Villa Mieli—Near Siena

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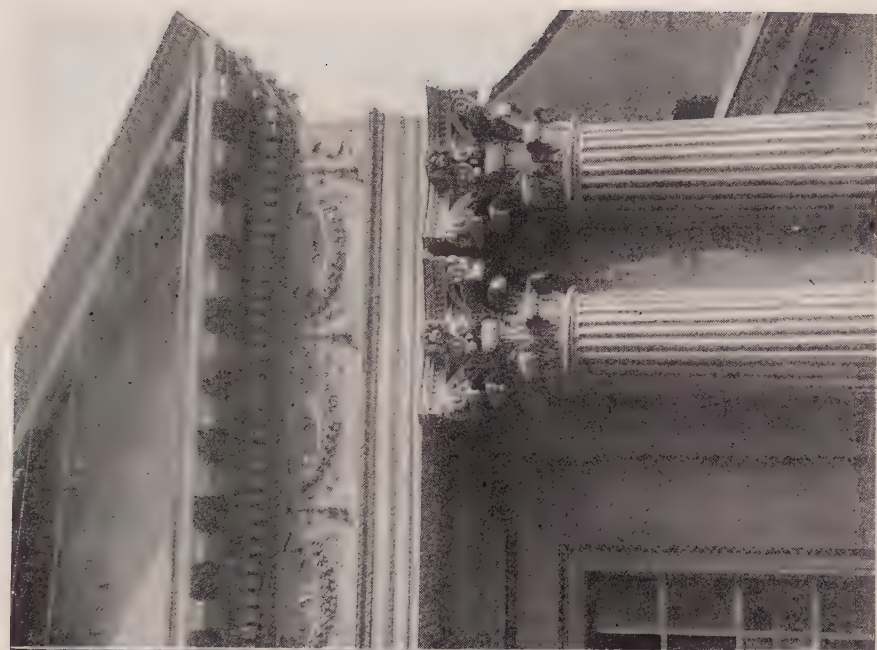


Front of Villa Chigi (or Mieli)—Near Siena, 1505

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Church of S. Rocco, Rome. Birth of Christ



Church of S. Rocco, Rome. Detail

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Mosaic, Ceiling, Crypt S. Gerusalemme—Rome

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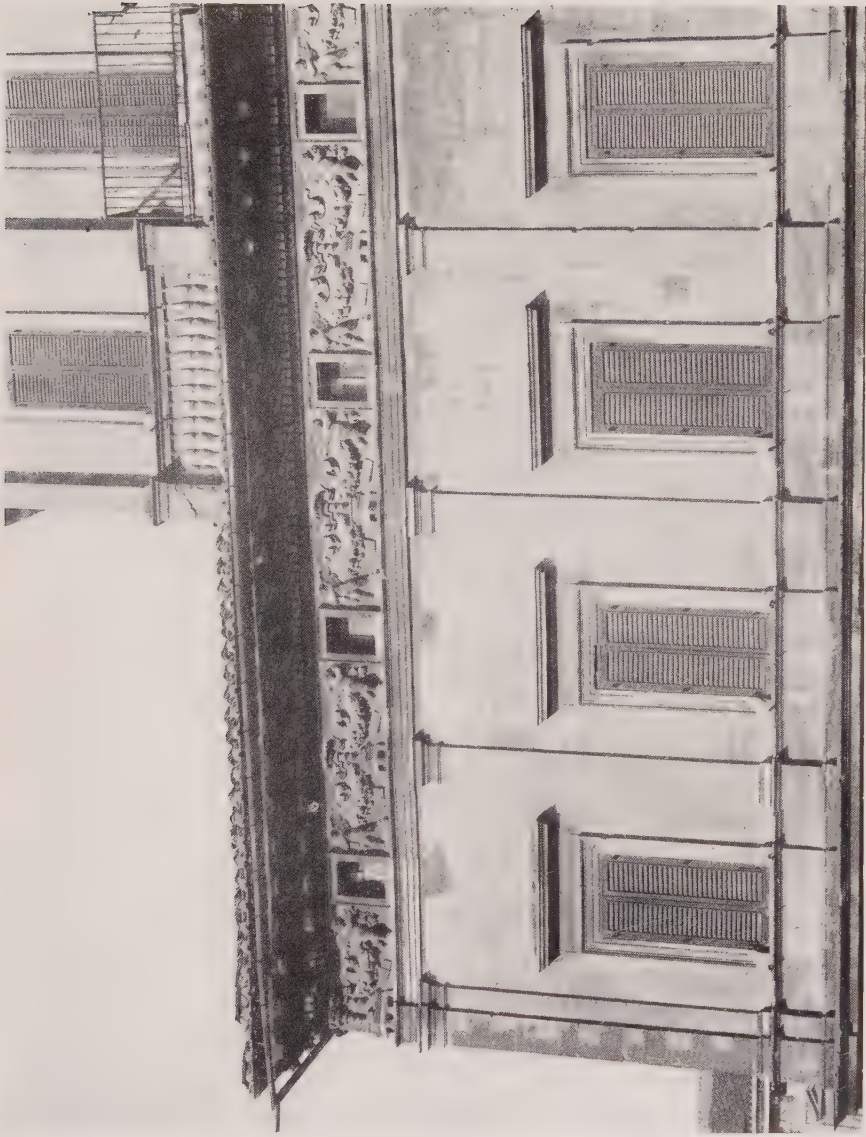
Palace Giustiniani—Bandini—Rome
Bramante and Peruzzi

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Farnesina Palace, Trastevere—Rome

THE LIBRARY
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Frieze and Cornice of the Farnesina Palace—Rome

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Porch. S. Maria in Domnica
(or Navicella)—Rome

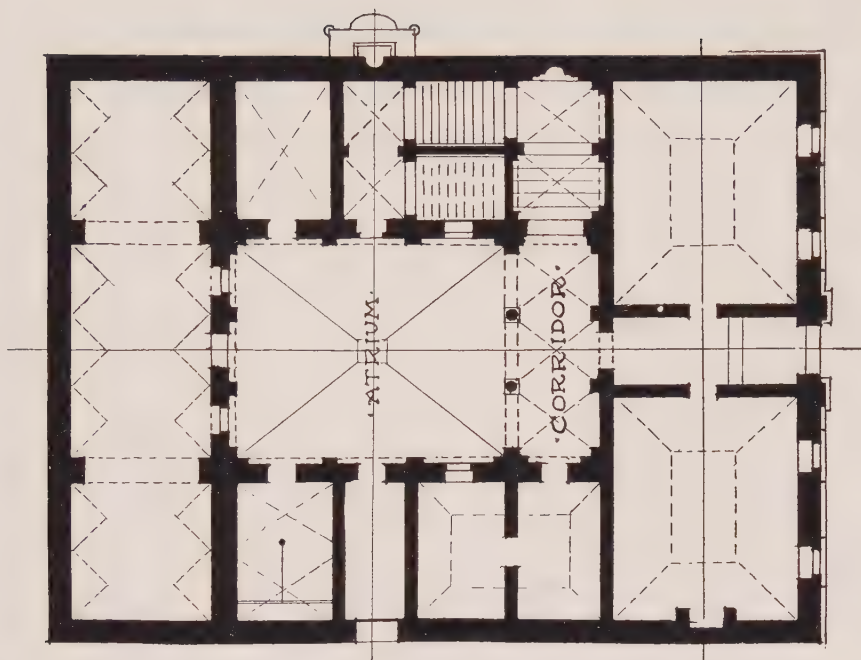
Doorway. Medici Palace—Via Giulia—Rome

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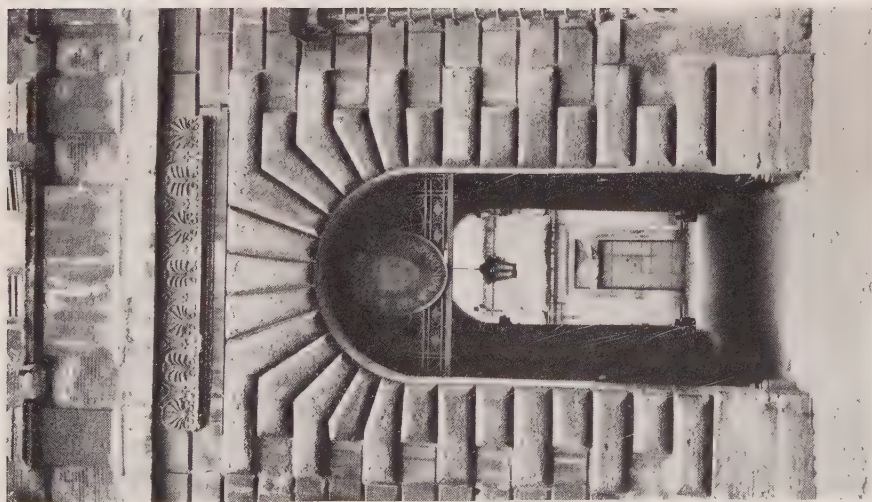
Ossoli Palace—Rome

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Plan

Ossoli Palace—Via Balestrari—Rome

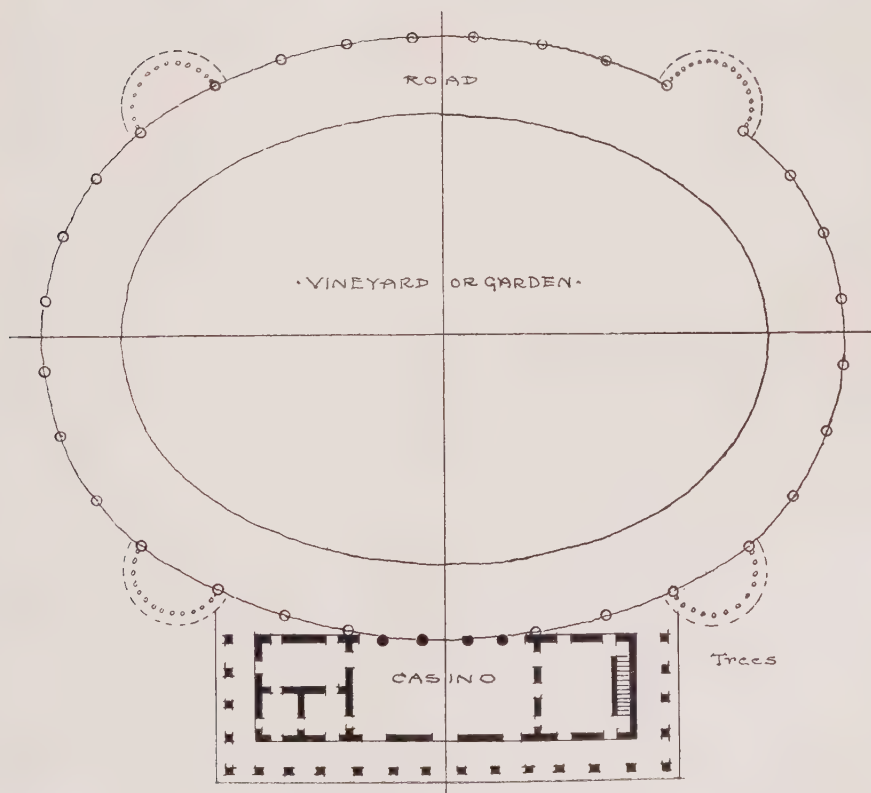


Entrance

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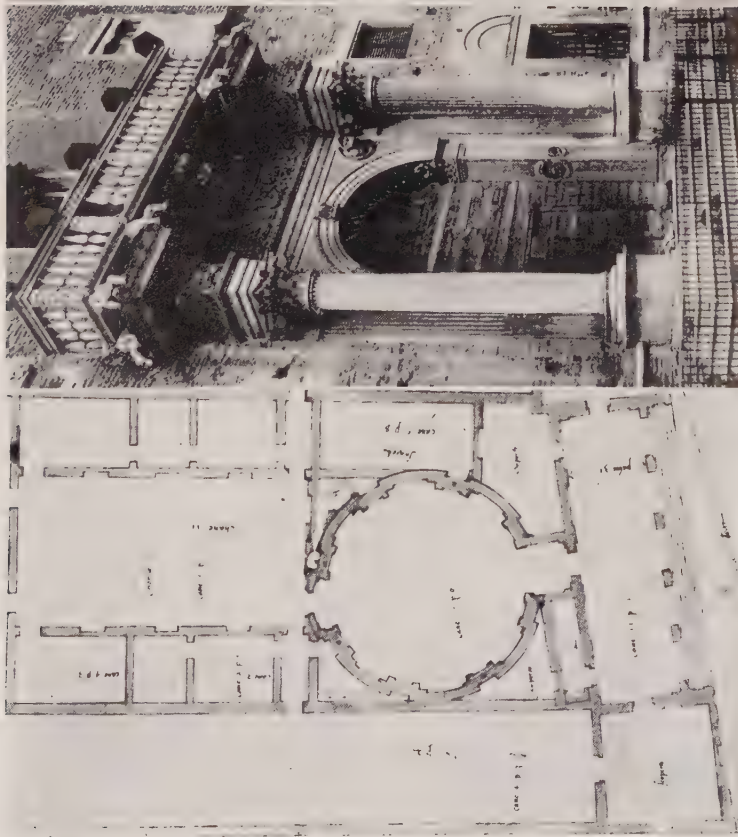


Villa Vicobello—Siena



Villa at Salone

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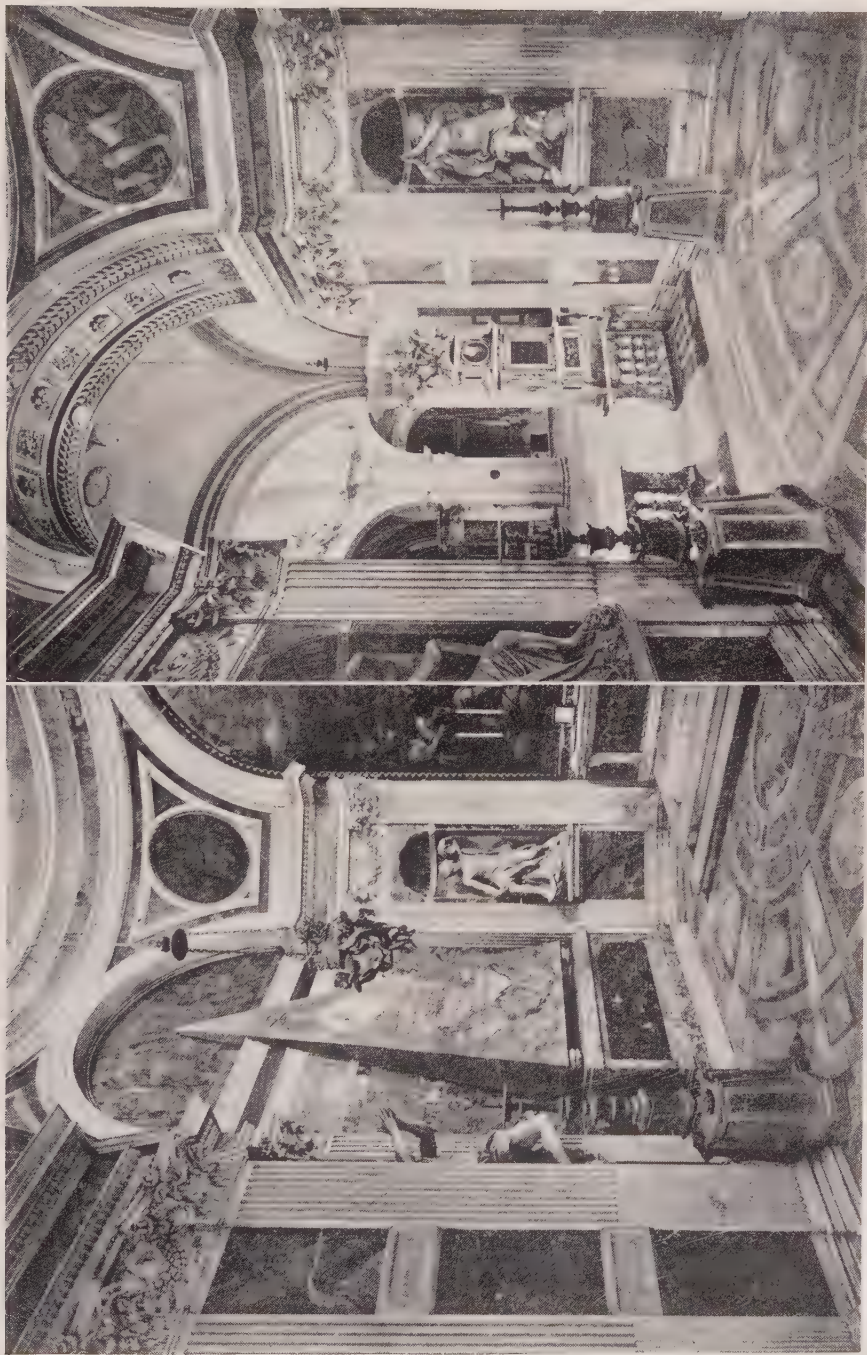


Sketch for S. Giacomo in Augusta
(degli Incurabili), Corso, Rome (Uffizi)

The Sacratini or Prosperi
Palace—Ferrara

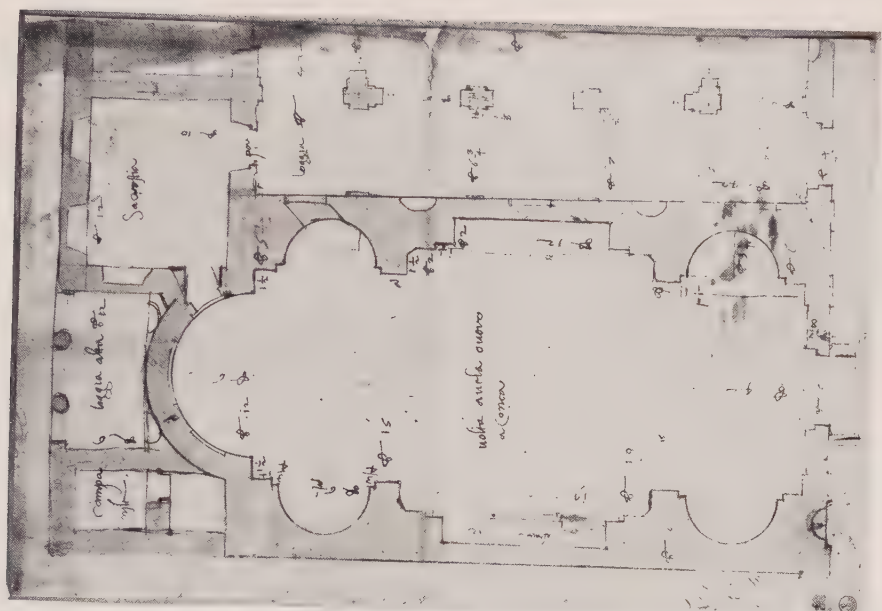
Early sketch plan, Church,
(St. Peter's)

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Chigi Chapel S. M. del Popolo—Rome

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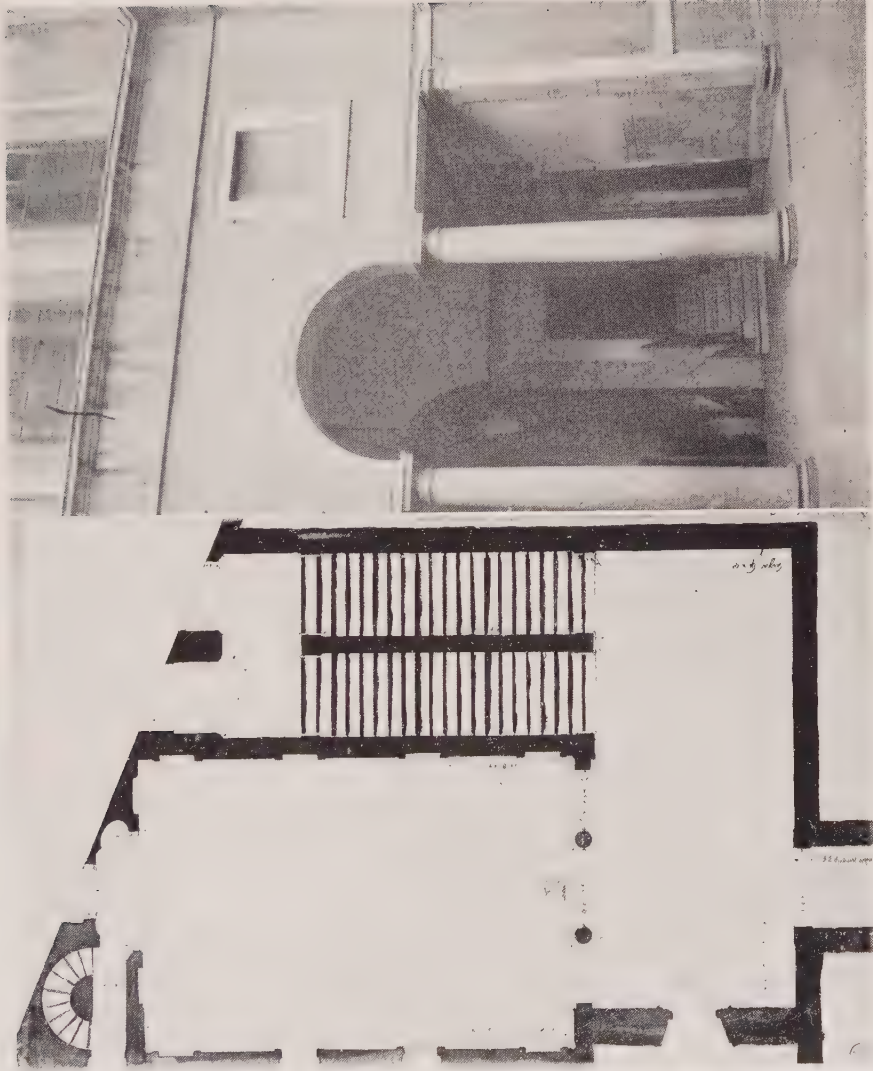


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S. Eligio—Rome

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Medici Palace in Via Giulia—Rome.
Plan by Dosio from Peruzzi's design (Uffizi Coll.)

Palladian Motive over "B," on plan.
For door "A," see Plate 14

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House 5, Governo Vecchio
Orsini Palace—Rome

In Via Montserrat
Palace adjoining the Lante on
Piazza Caprettari—Rome

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Ceiling in Palace Montalto No. 7 Via Parione—Rome

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Costa Palace, Borgo Nuovo—Rome
Attributed variously to Peruzzi, Raphael and San Gallo

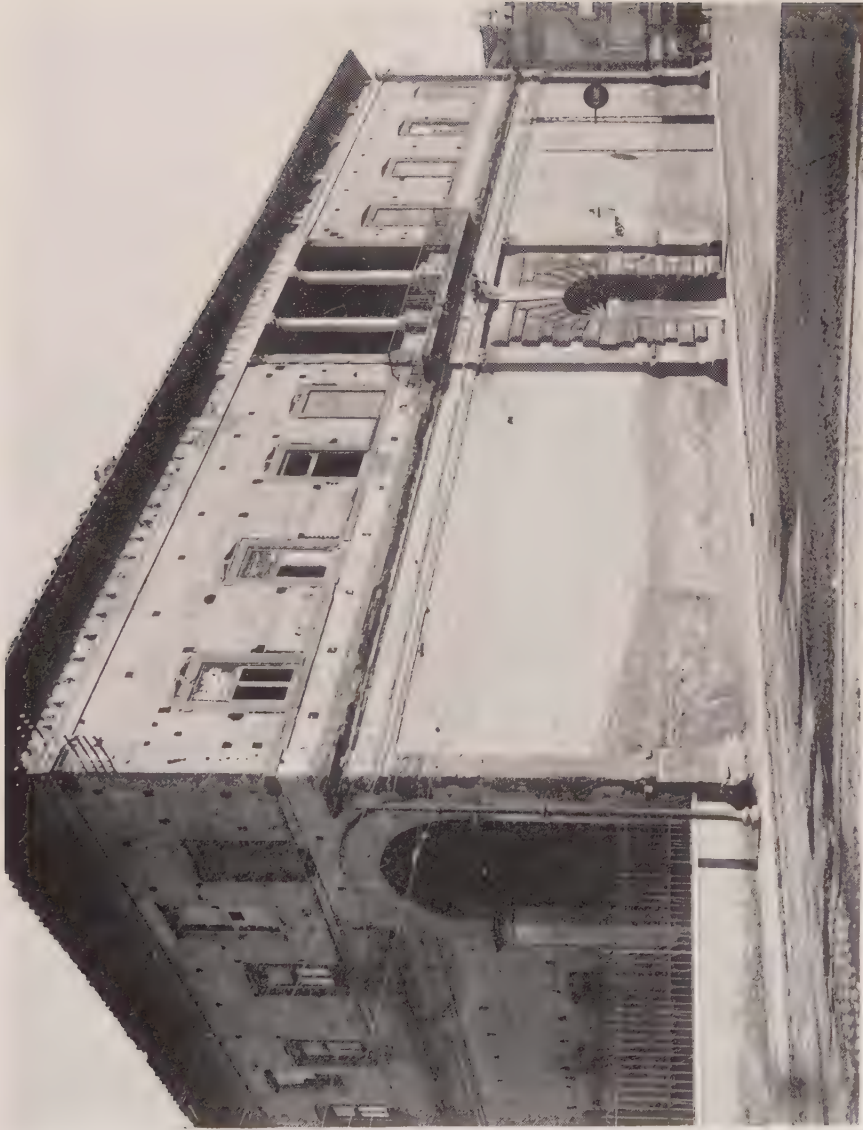
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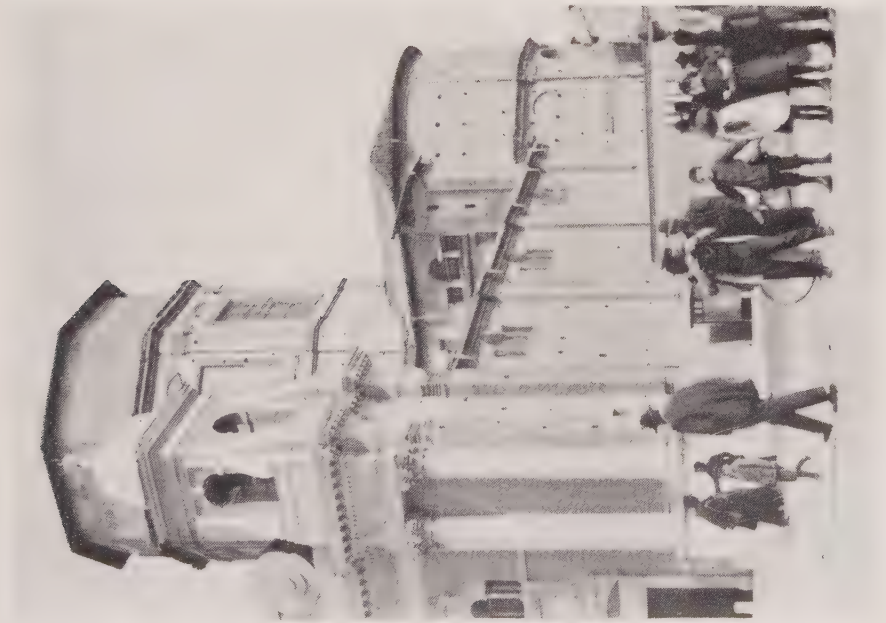
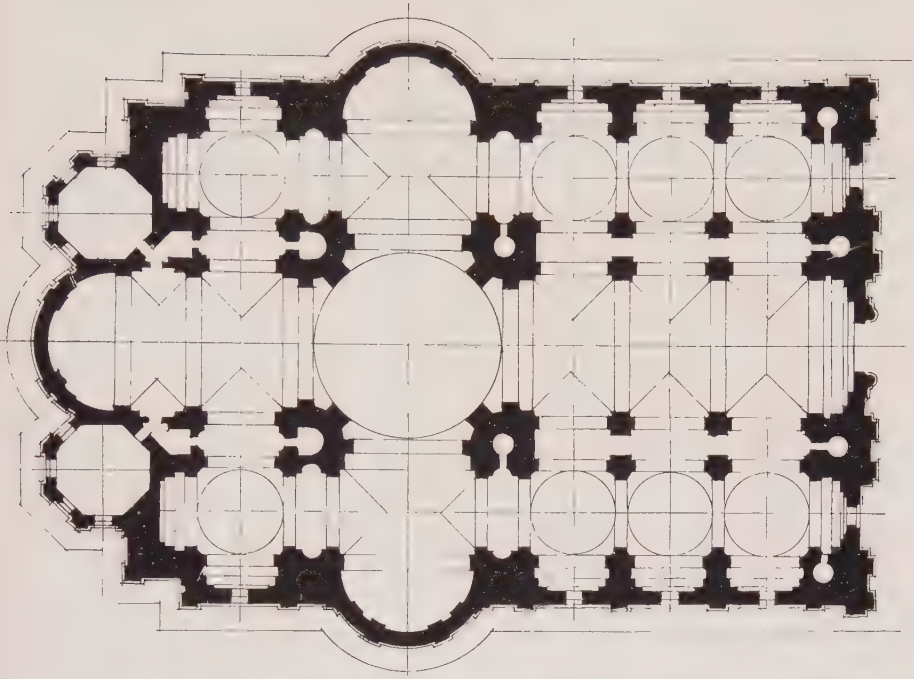
Palazetto Spada—Rome

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Vigna of Pope Julius III.—Via Flaminia—Rome

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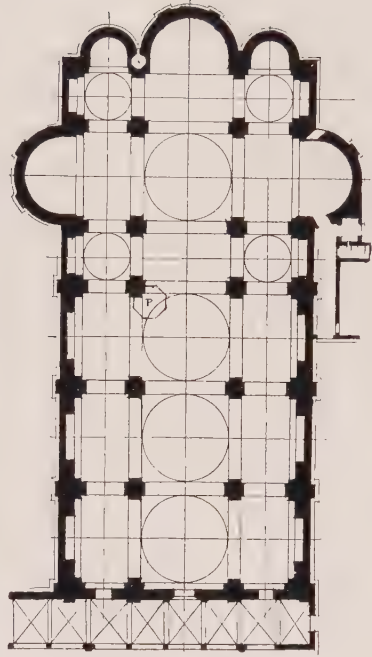


The Plan and Exterior of the Duomo at Carpi

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CARPI. INTERNA DI S. NICOLÒ

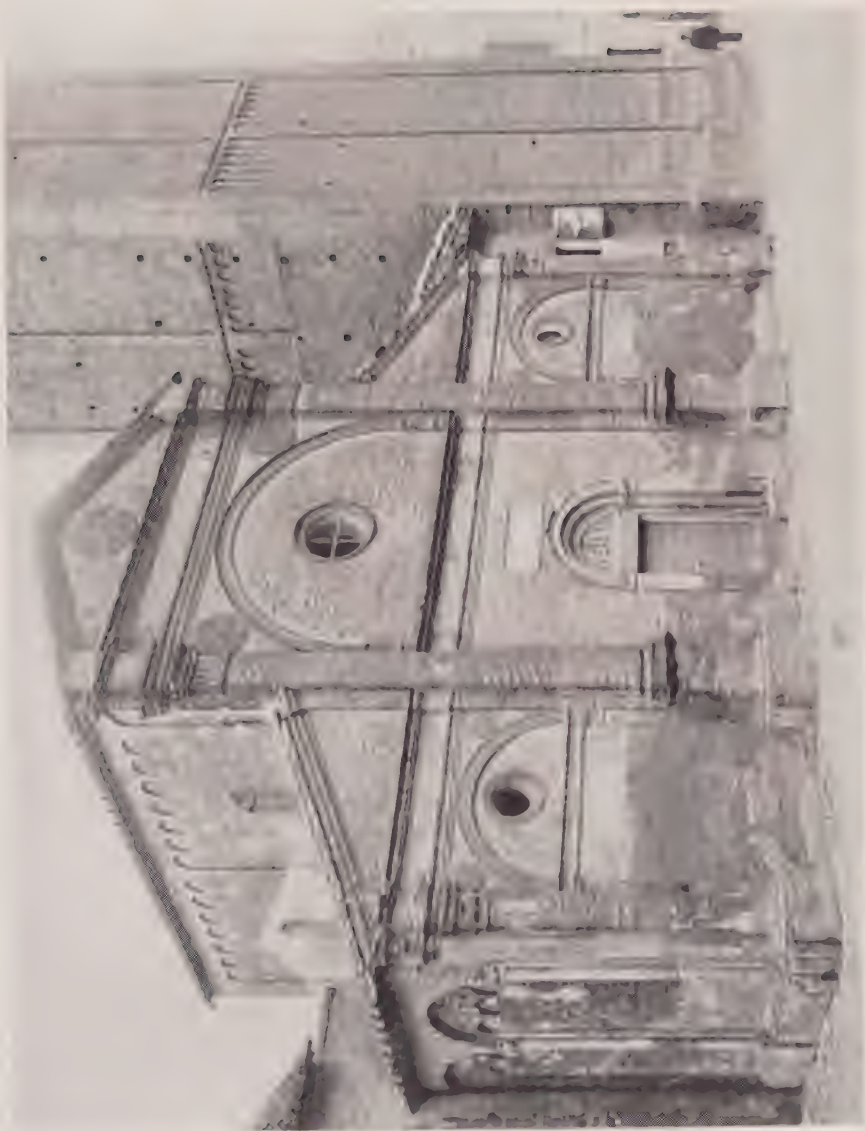


CARPI

Basilica e Convento di S. Nicolo

Basilica and Convent di S. Nicolo—Carpi

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The Older Duomo "La Sagra"—Carpi

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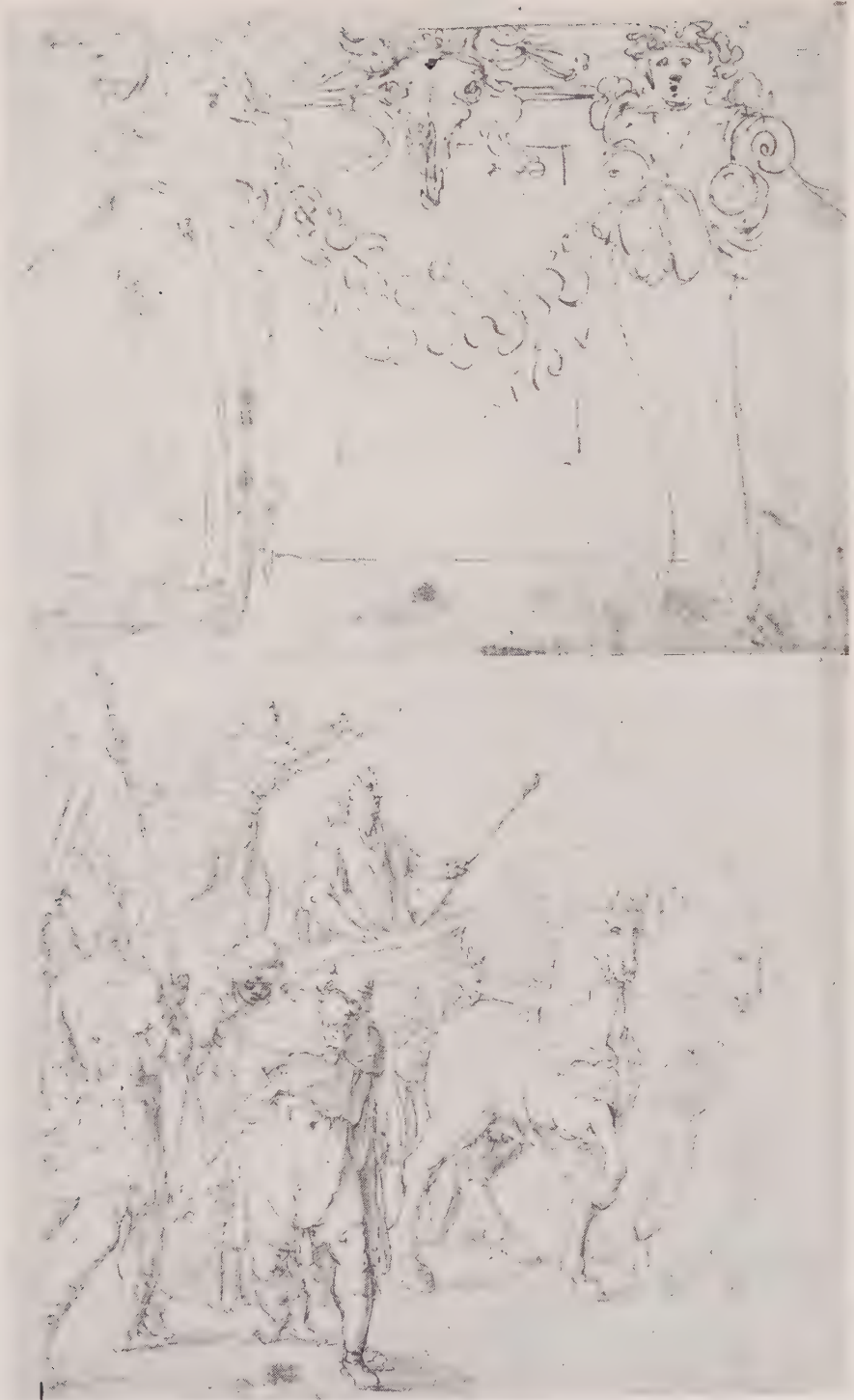


The Campanile and "La Sagra"—Carpi



The Arcade or "High Portico"—Carpi

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Console design
Triumph of a Roman Emperor (Vespasian?)
Sketches by Peruzzi, in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art

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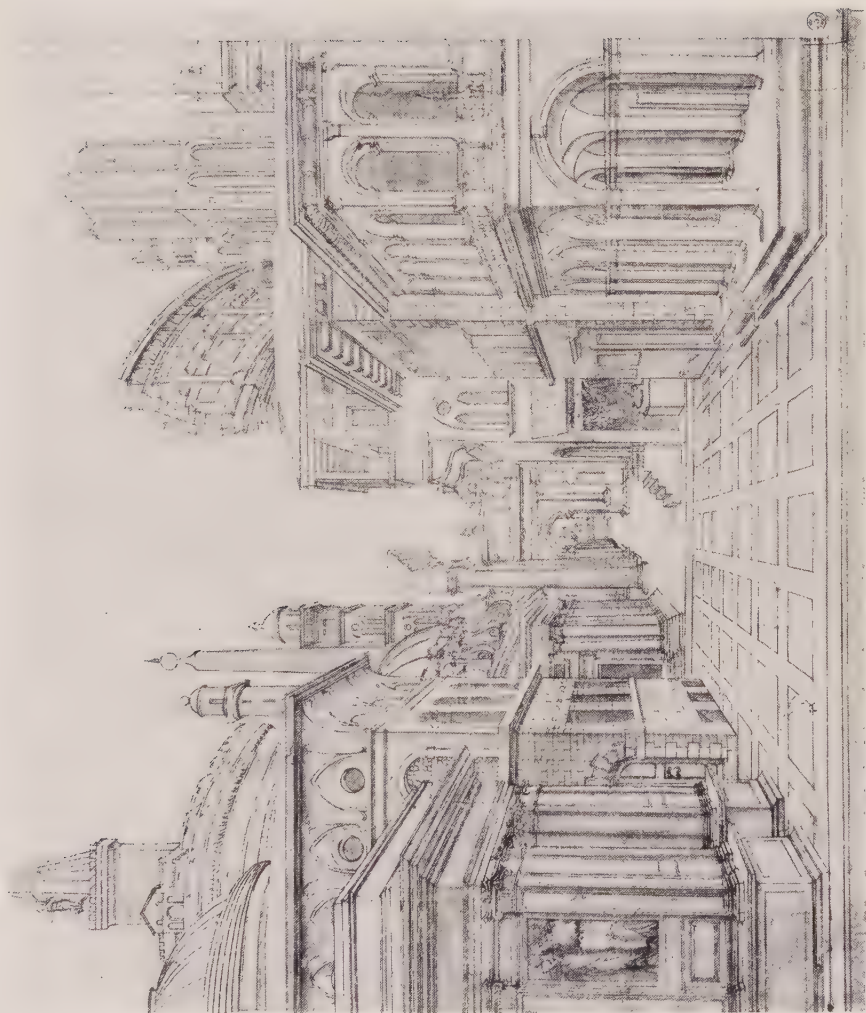
Fresco in Ponzetti Chapel, Santa Maria della Pace—Rome

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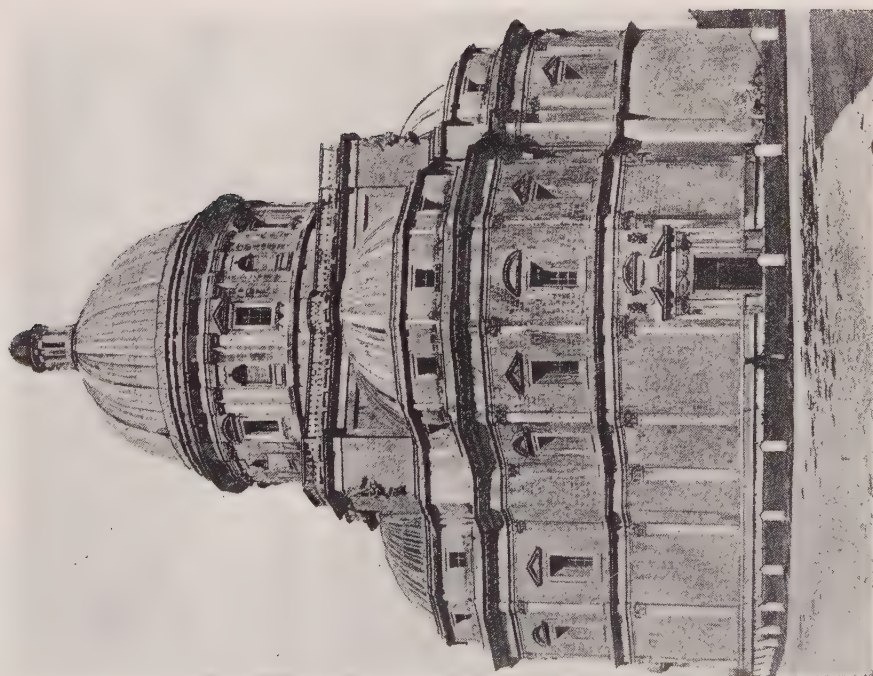
The Presentation in the Temple, S. M. della Pace—Rome

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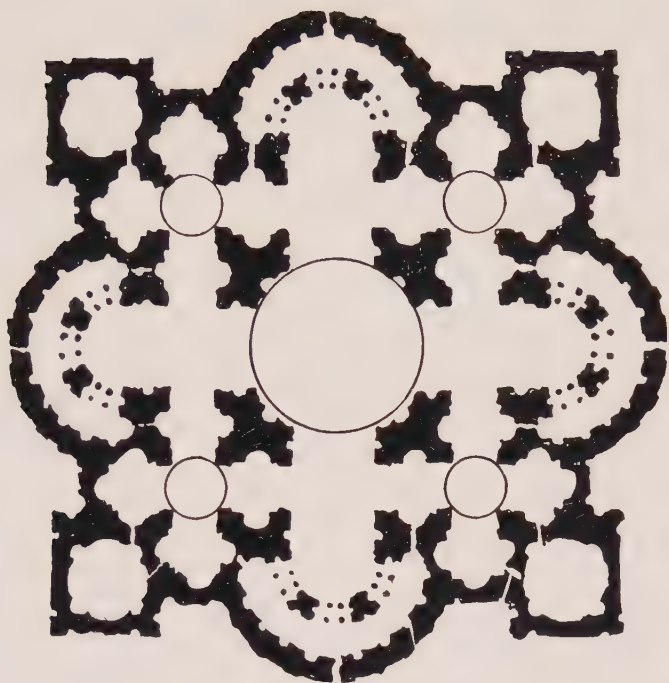


Design for a City Street Scene by Peruzzi

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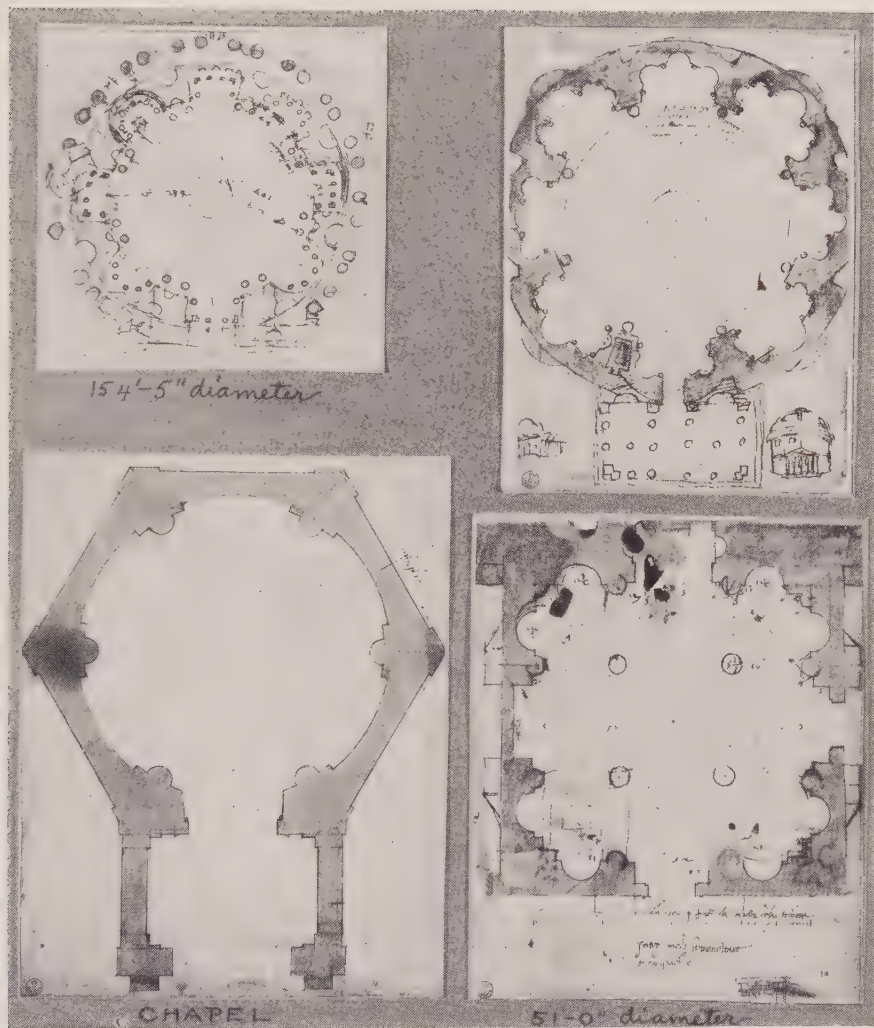


S. M. della Consolazione—Todi



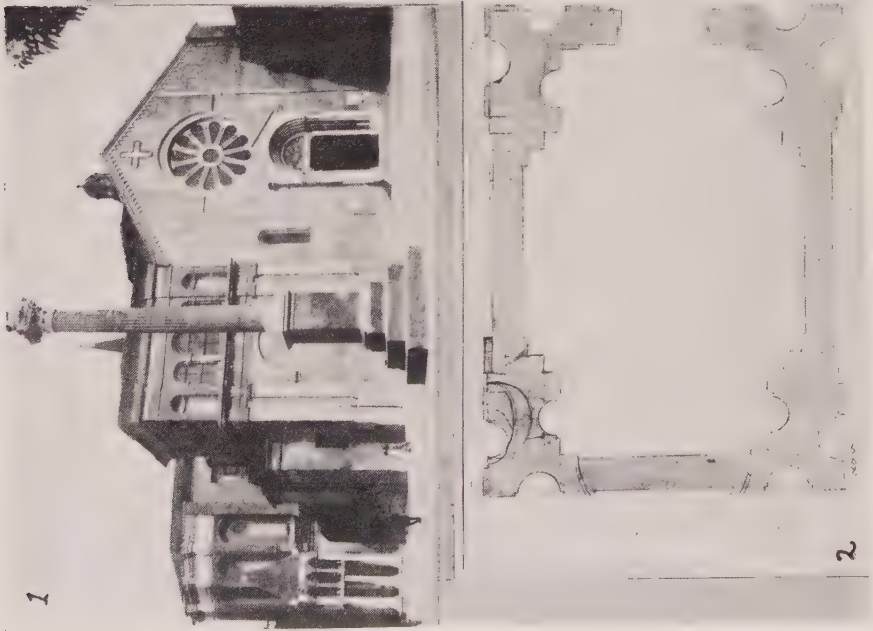
Peruzzi's Plan for St. Peter's, Rome—From Serlio

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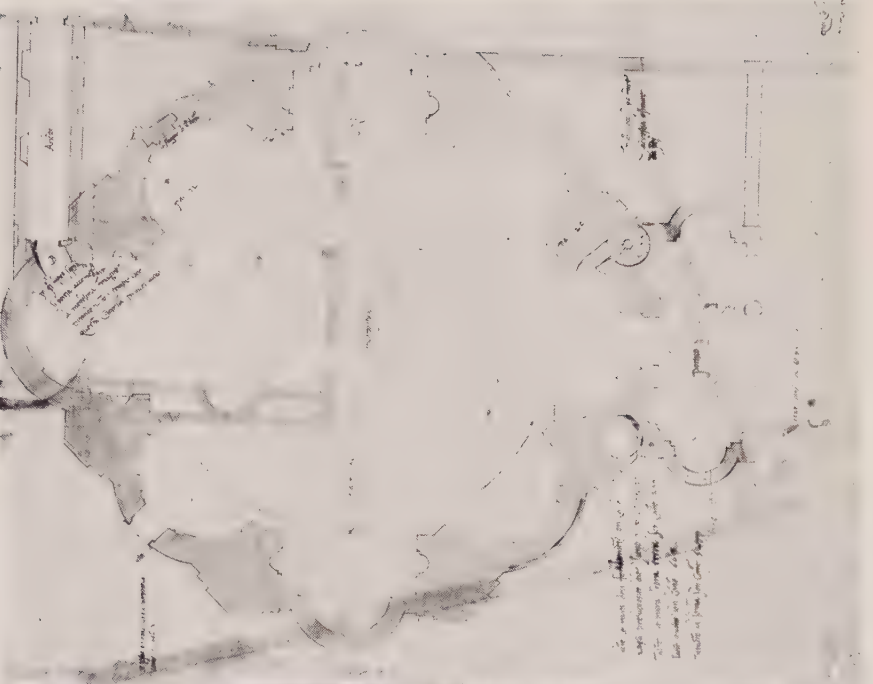


Pantheonic Church Plans. Possibly studies for St. Peter's, Rome. From Peruzzi's sketches in the Uffizi—Florence

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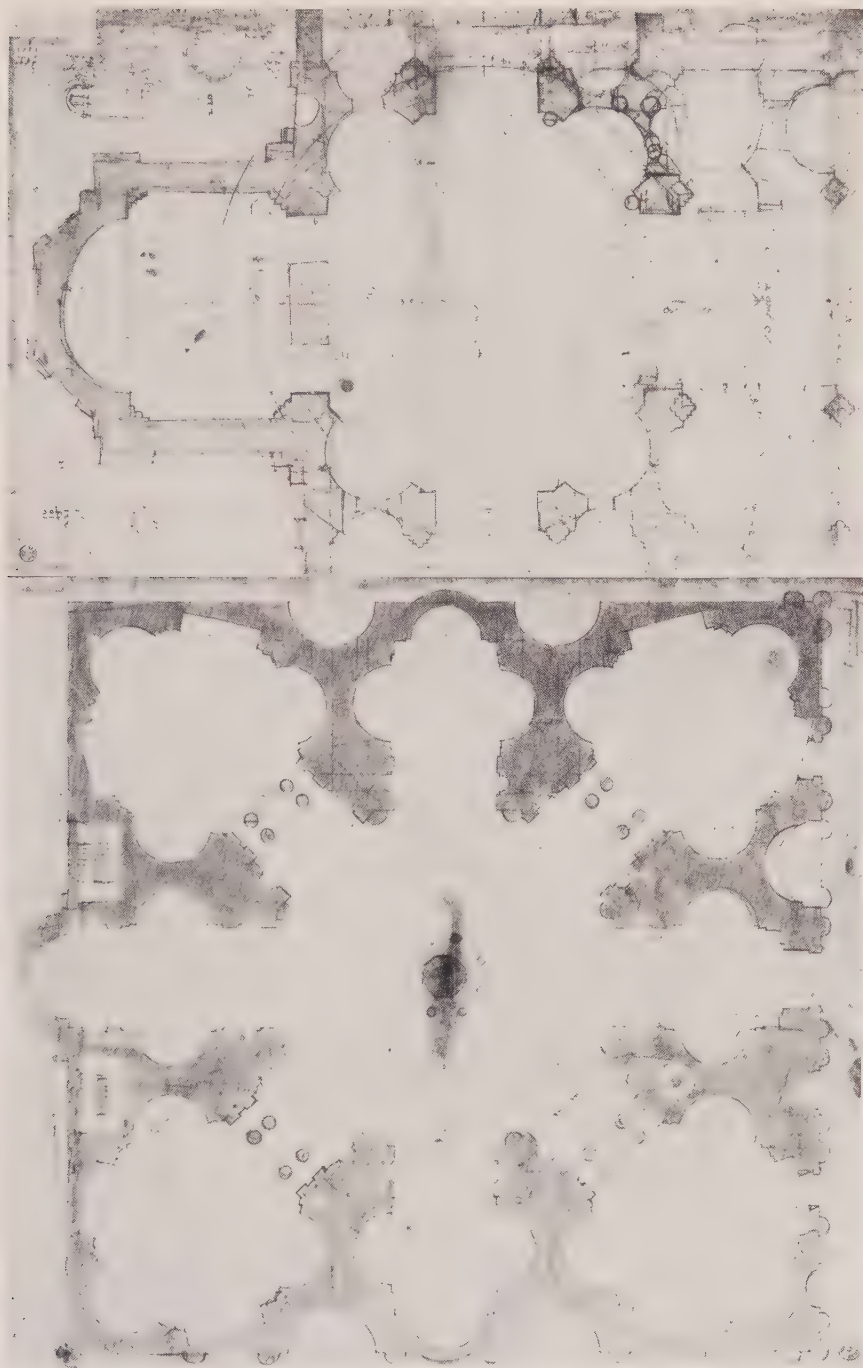


1—Ghisilardi Chapel, S. Domenico, Bologna
2—Plan like it, in Uffizi—(Peruzzi)



Plan for Church, near The Campidoglio on ruins
of an ancient edifice—Rome—(Uffizi)

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Studies for Church Plans (Uffizi)—Probably St. Peter's

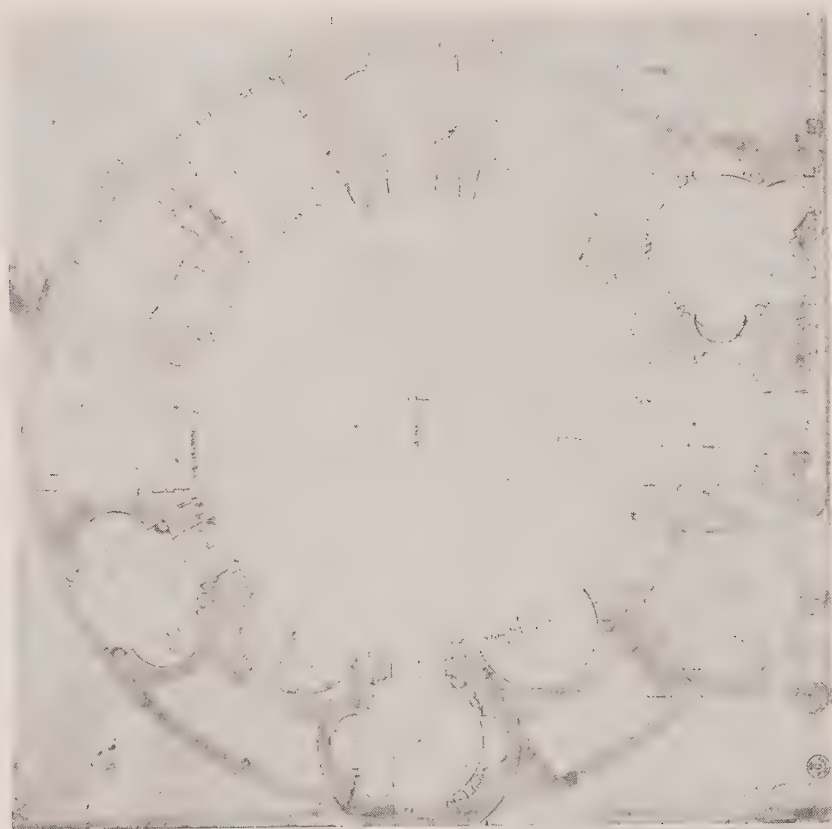
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Various Studies by Peruzzi for St. Peter's, etc.—(Uffizi)

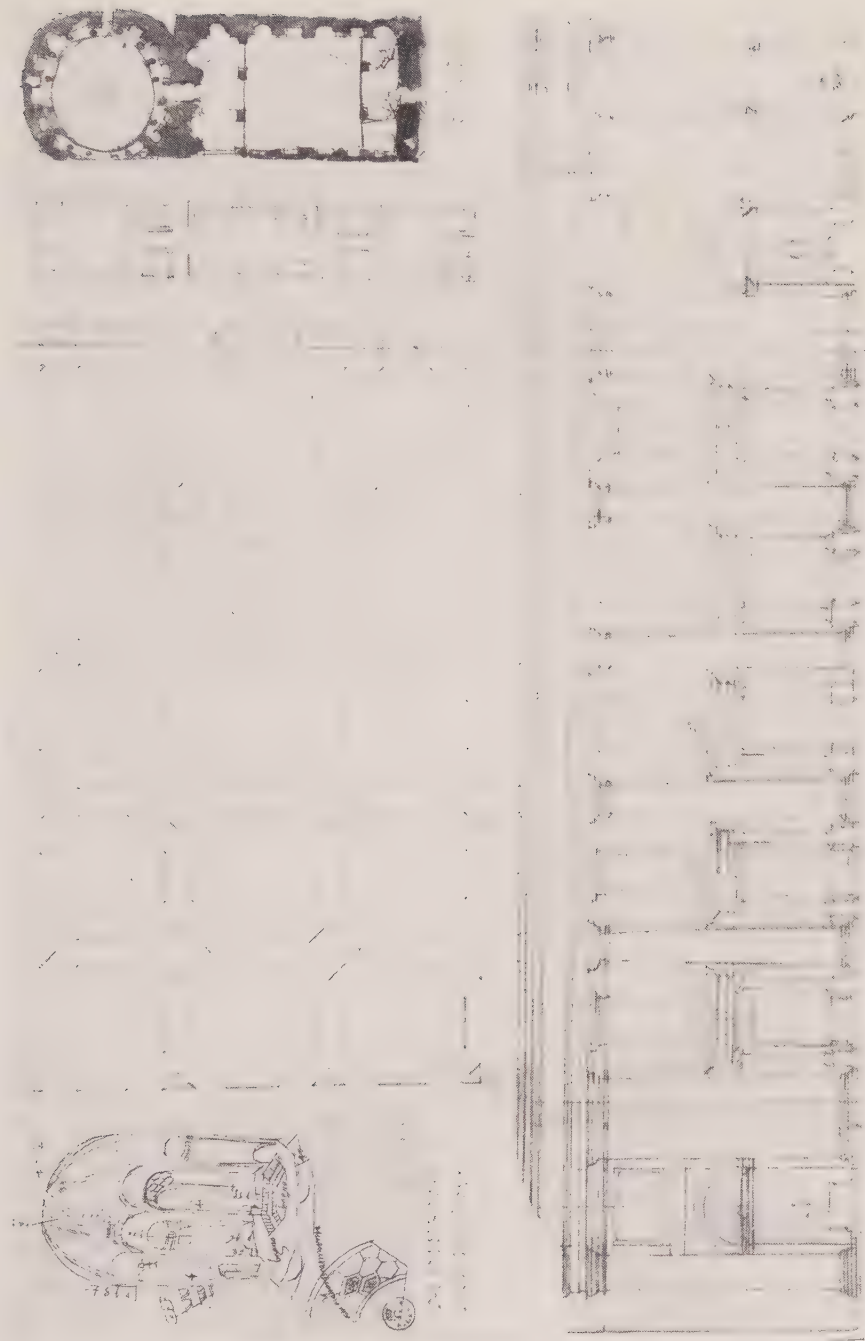
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Studies for Church Plans (Uffizi)—Probably St. Peter's

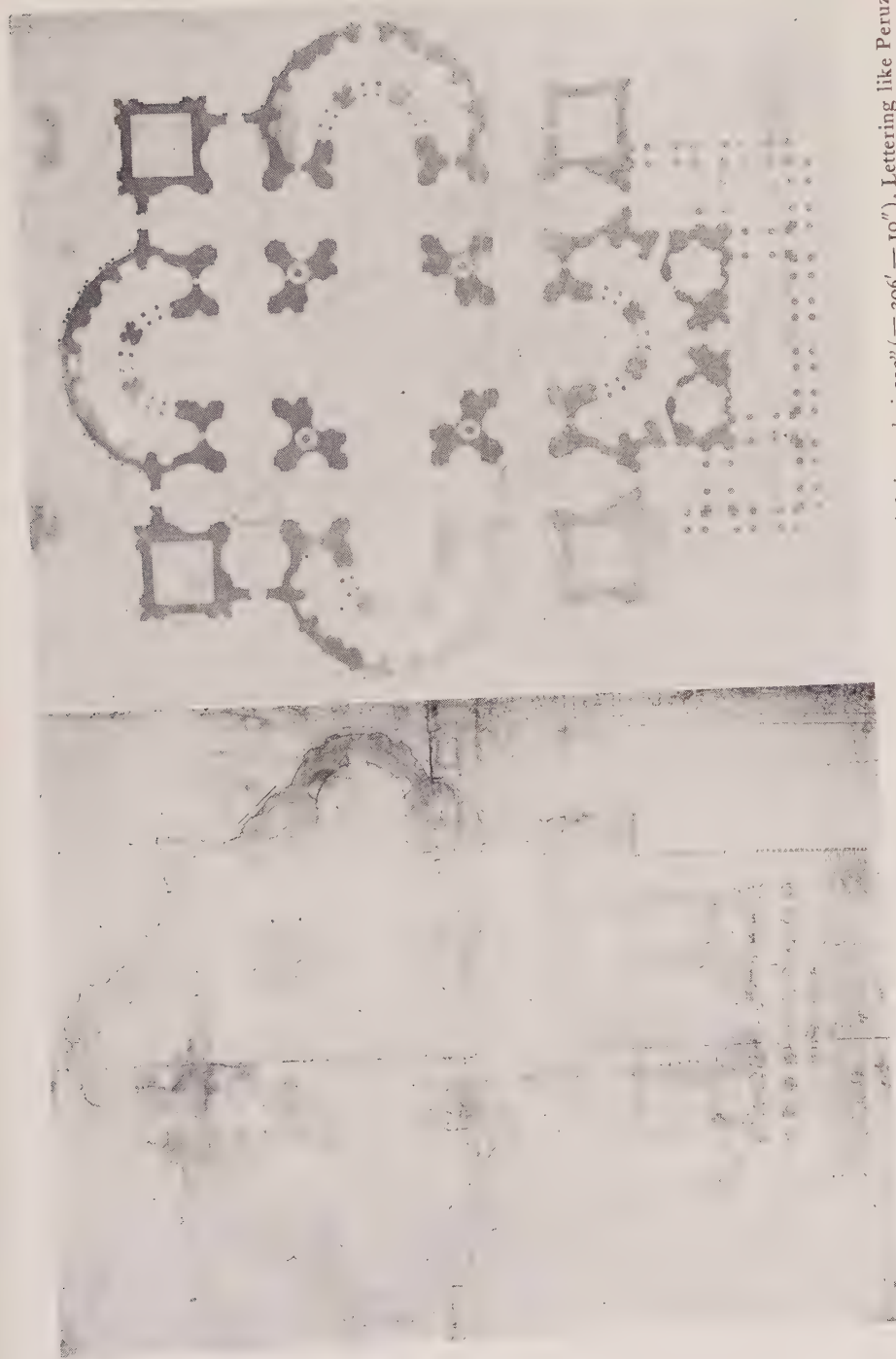
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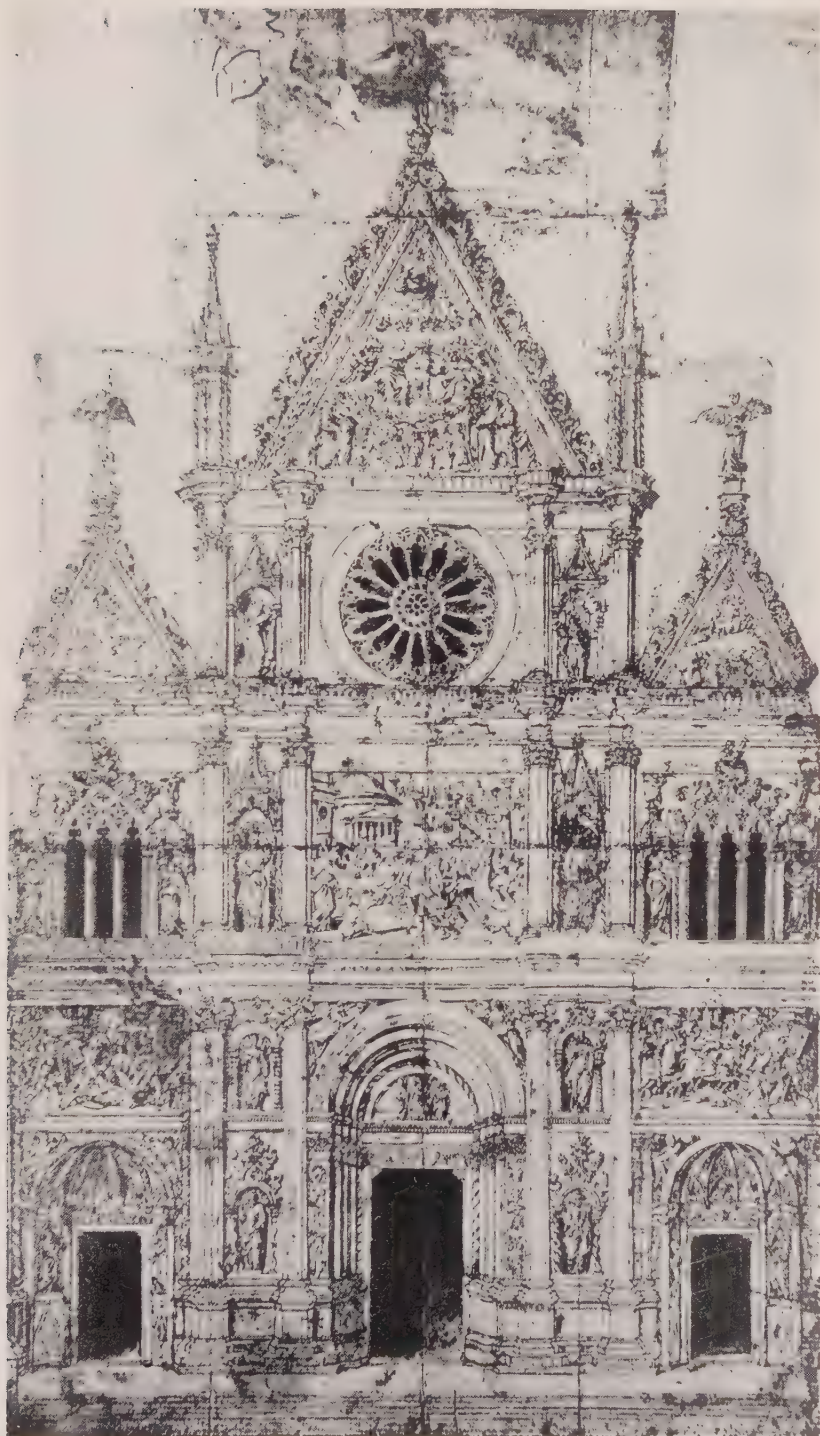
Three Studies by Peruzzi—(Uffizi)

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1—Plan for St. Peter's by unknown draughtsman. Lettered "il tutto dela m//a della fabrica palmi 202" (= 206' — 10"). Lettering like Peruzzi's
 2—Plan for St. Peter's, signed "Baldsar Petrucci Senese" and "No. 10. Pezzo Unico."
 Lawrence Grant White Collection

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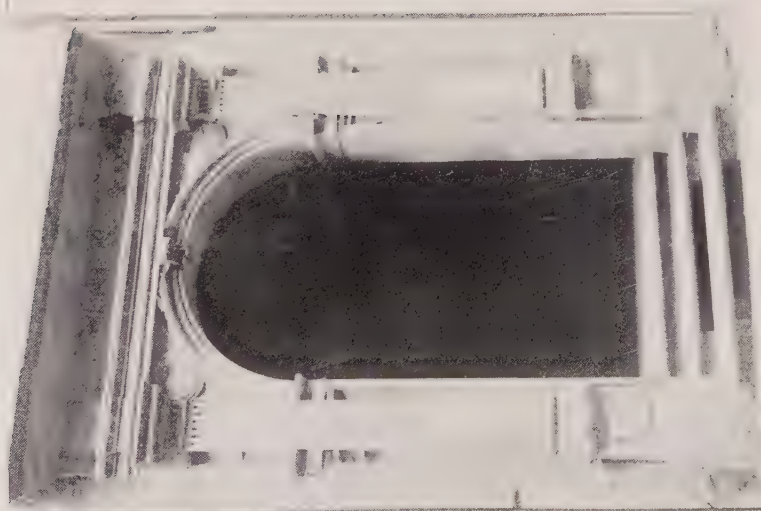
Peruzzi's Design for Front of S. Petronio, Bologna. From Stegman & Von Geymüller's "*Di Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*"—F. Bruckman, München, and Architectural Book Publishing Co., New York

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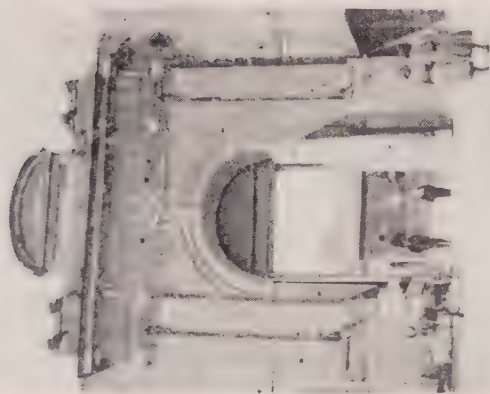


A—Well at Villa Vicobello
B—Court at Villa Celsa
C—Garden at Villa Vicobello
D—Candelabra by Peruzzi—(Uffizi Coll.)

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Door at left of S. M. Galliera—Bologna



Porta Camollia—Siena



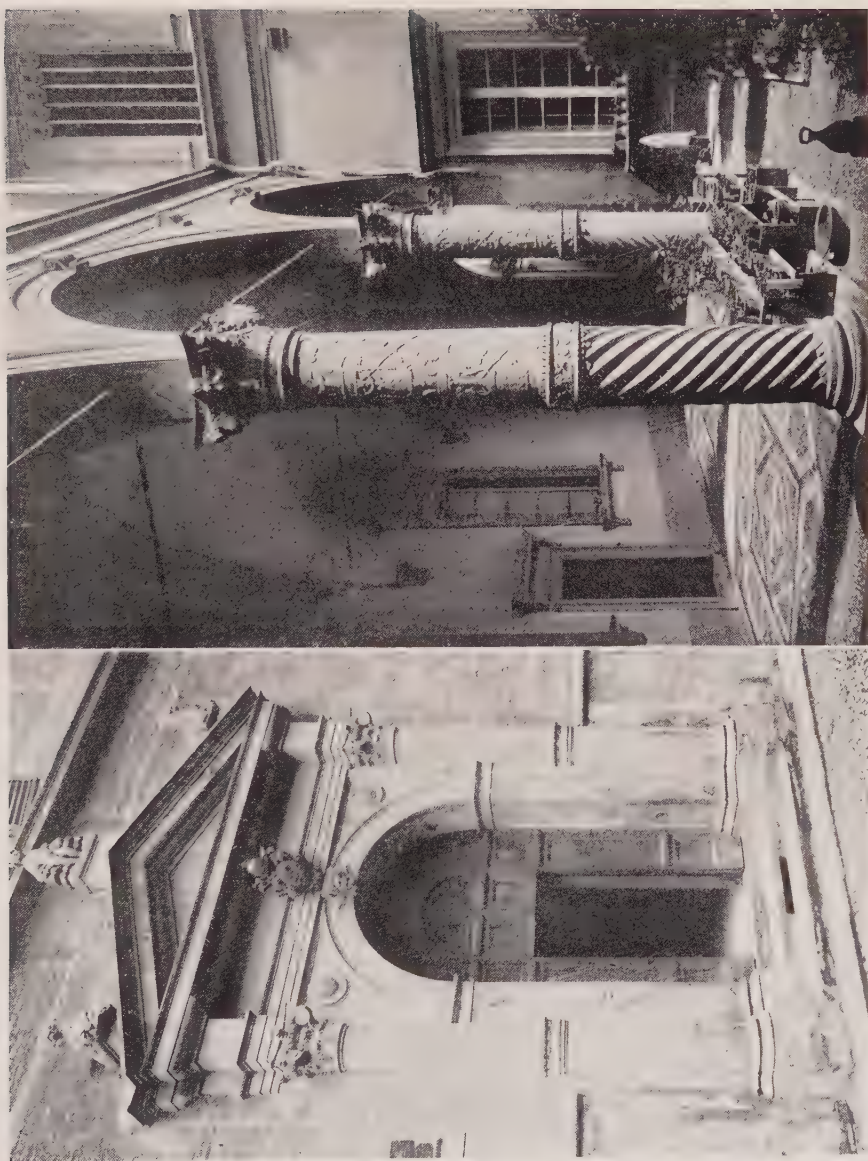
Chapel—Villa Celsa

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Albergati Palace—Bologna

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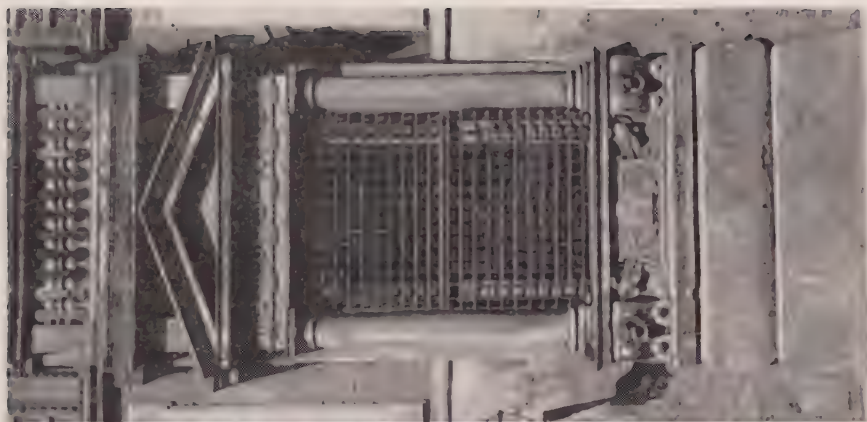
1—Entrance, Palace Boncompagni—Bologna
2—Courtyard, Palace Boncompagni—Bologna

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Palace Fiorelli, formerly Monari—Bologna

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Window in Public Palace—Bologna



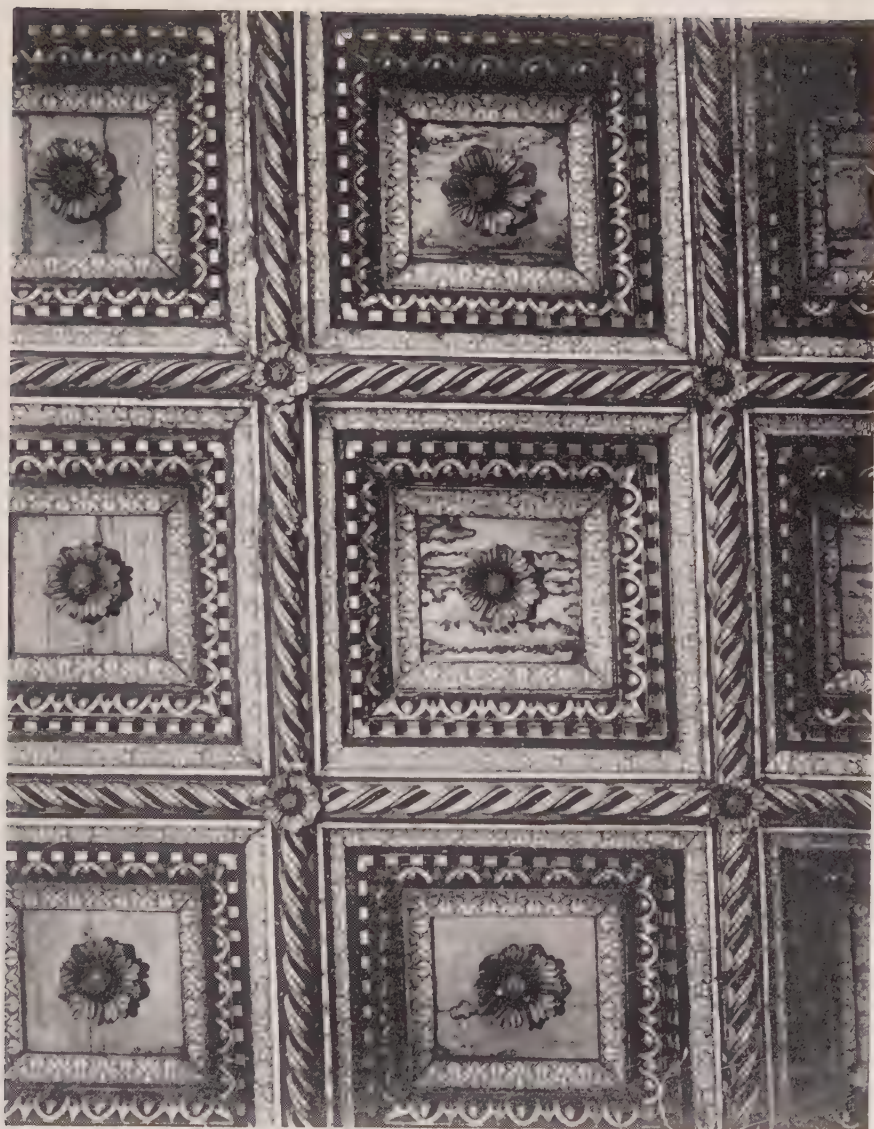
Door in The Loggiato, Public Palace—Bologna

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Doorway. S. Michele in Bosco—Bologna. Smaller perspective view of same set in the door opening

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Ceiling, Hospital della Scala—Siena

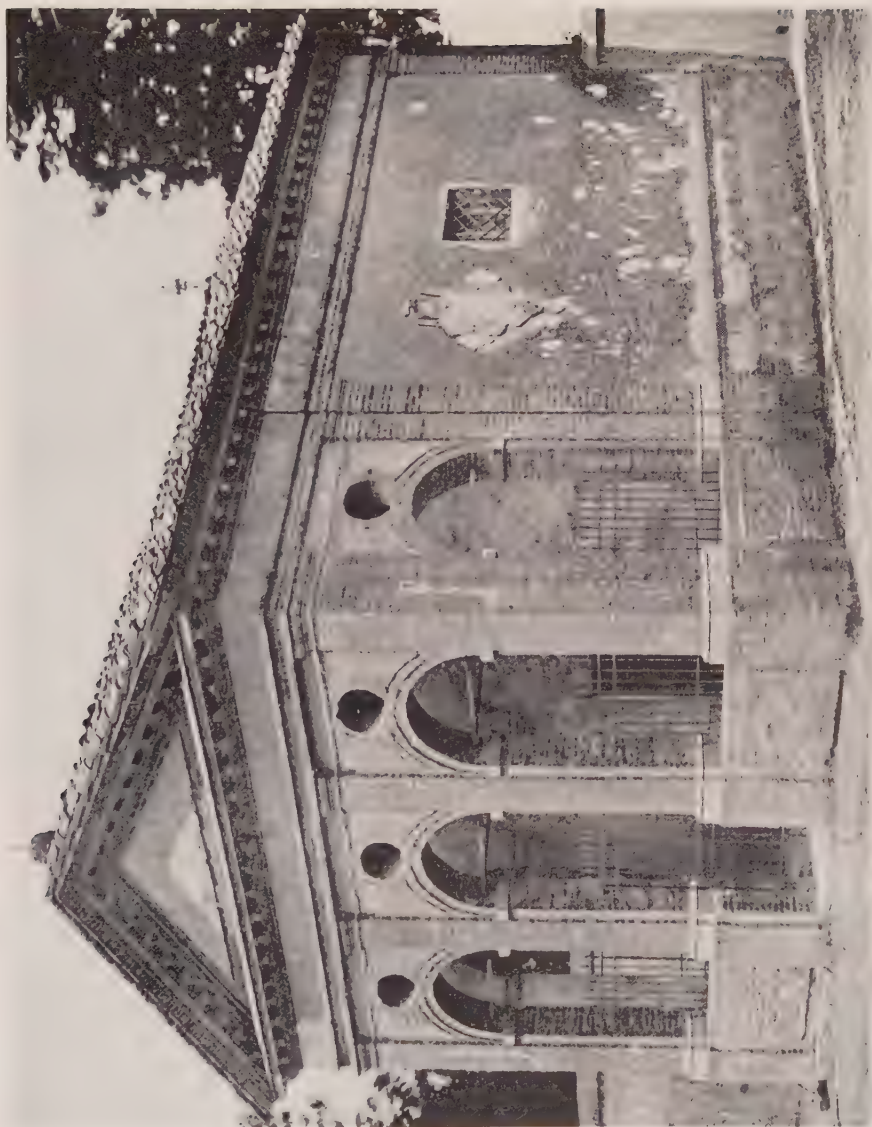
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Organ Case in Duomo—Siena

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Chapel outside Porta Camollia—Siena

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Mocenni or Francesconi Palace, Via Cavour—Siena
Peruzzi's Study for a Castello—(Uffizi)

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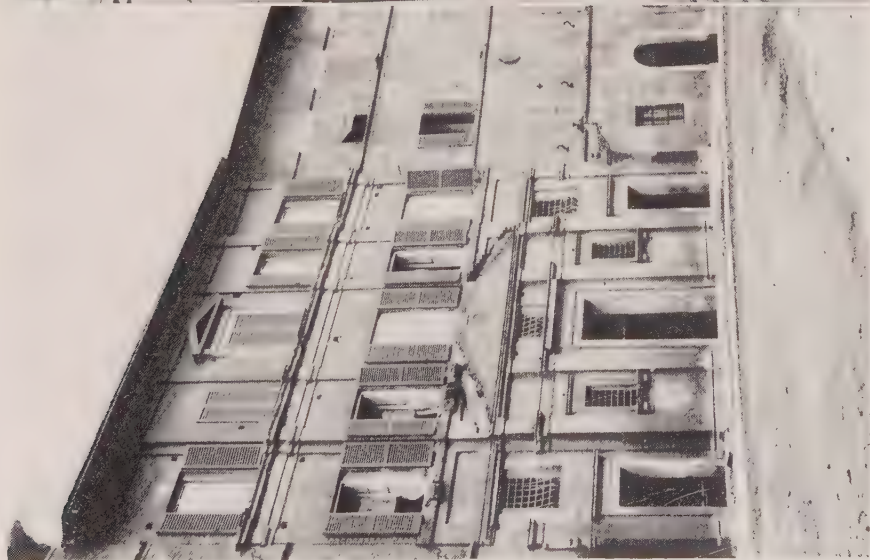


Court of St. Catherine's House—Siena

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Peruzzi's Own House—Siena



House No. 24, Via Baldassare Peruzzi—Siena

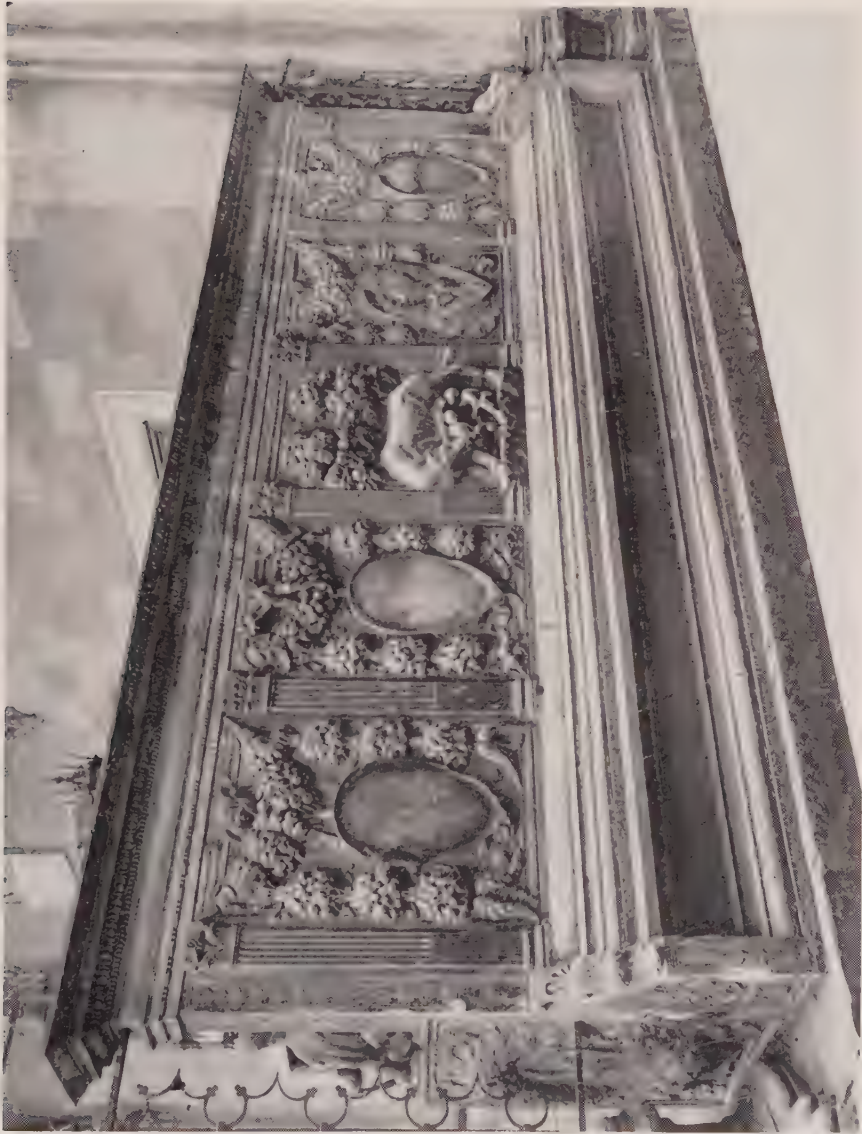
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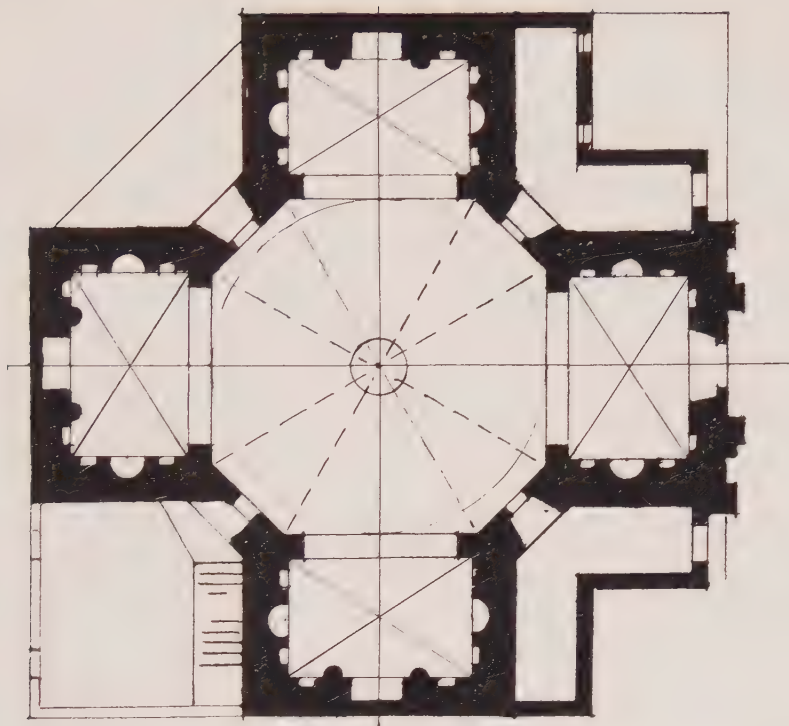
Cloister of San Martino—Siena

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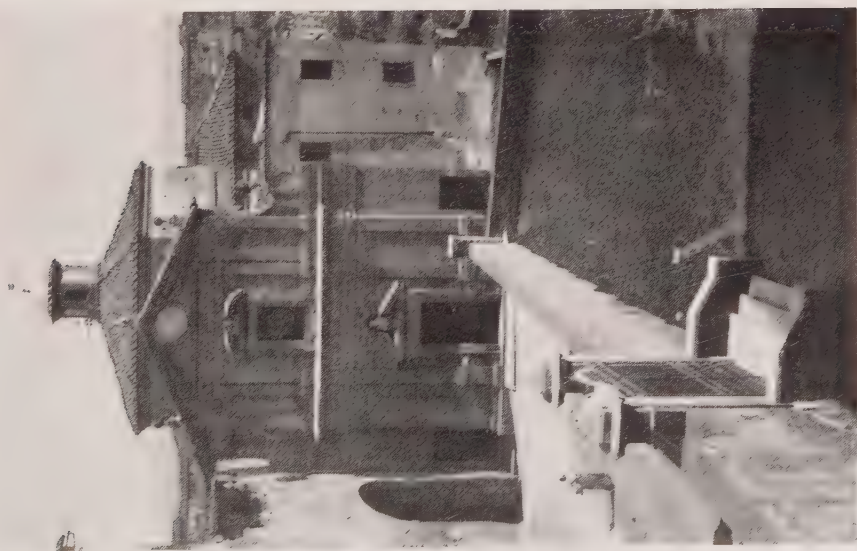


Seat. Loggia di Mercanzia—Siena

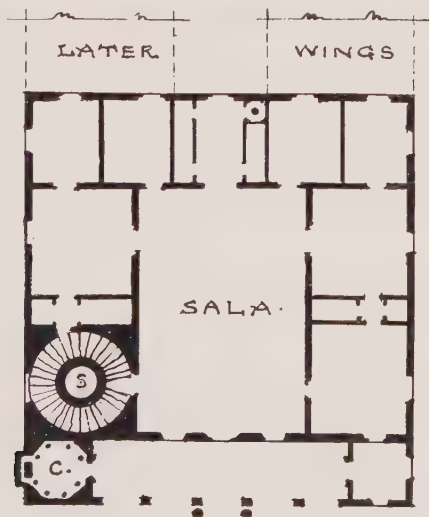
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San Giuseppe—Siena



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Villa Santa Columba—Near Sienna

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Villa Celsa, near Siena. Restored by Prof. Vittorio Mariani

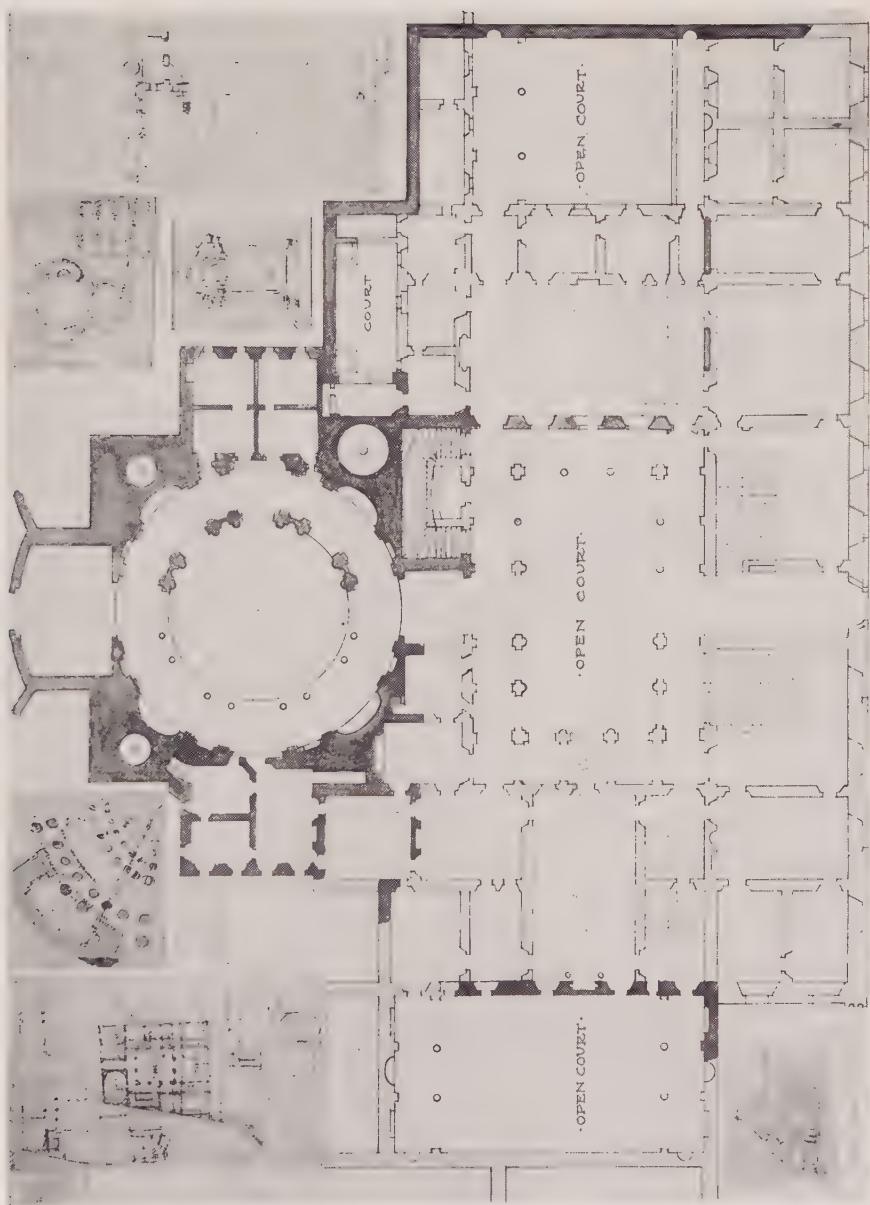


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Panteone di Pontremoli or Santa Elisabetta—Viterbo

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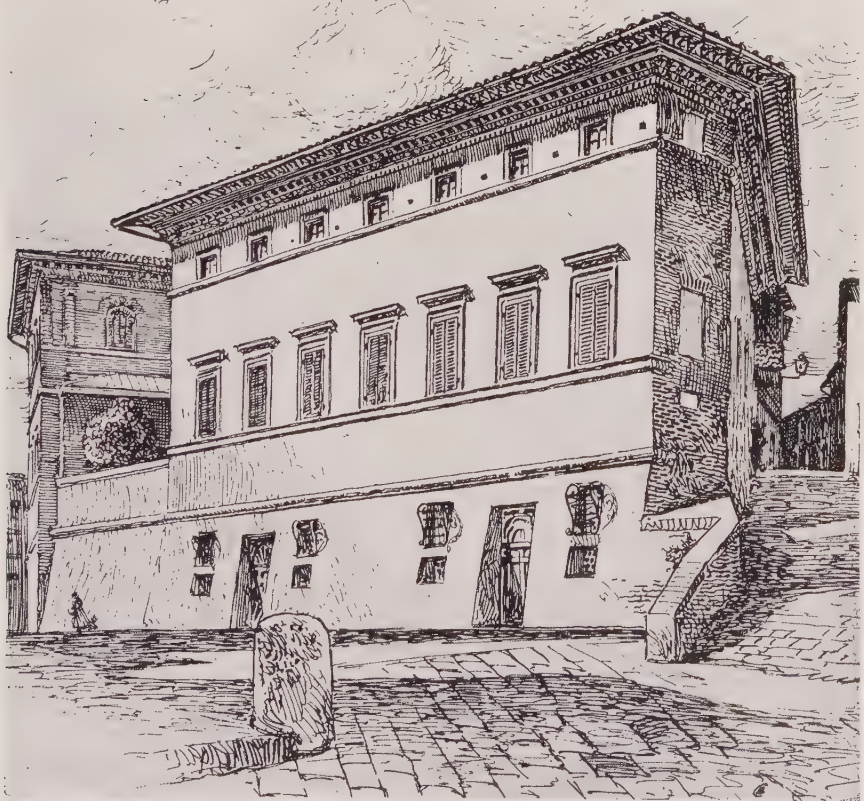
Peruzzi's Plan for Palace for Conte di Pitigliano (Orsini), on the Ruins of the Baths of Agrippa. Behind the Pantheon—Rome. (From Uffizi Collection)

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Altemps Palace—Rome

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Pollini Pallice—Siena. Sketch by Claude Bragdon in "Minor Palaces of Italy"
 Courtesy of The Cutler Co.
 Above, Fresco "*Adoration of the Magi*"

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Sketch in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art by Peruzzi. Signed "Petruccio da Siena."
"Sibyl foretelling the Birth of Christ to Emperor Augustus"

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Church of the Servi (S. Giovanni in Pantaneto)—Siena

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Tower, Carmine Church—Siena

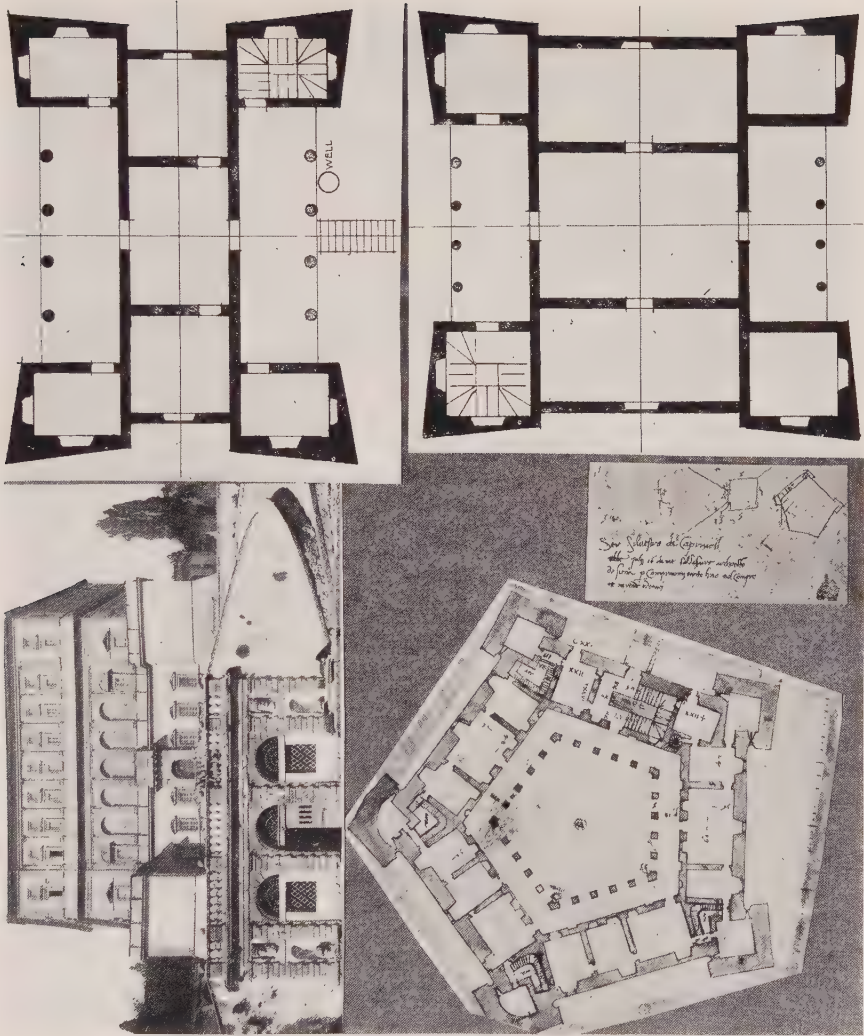
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Cloister, Church of the Carmine—Siena

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Villa or "Rocca" at Caprarola, and B. P.'s plan—(Uffizi). Peruzzi's preliminary plan studies for it and notation. Villa plans by Peruzzi of Bastion Forms

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Sketch for High Altar in Duomo—Siena

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Villa Belcaro, near Siena—(Uffizi). Peruzzi's sketch plan and fresco "Judgement of Paris"

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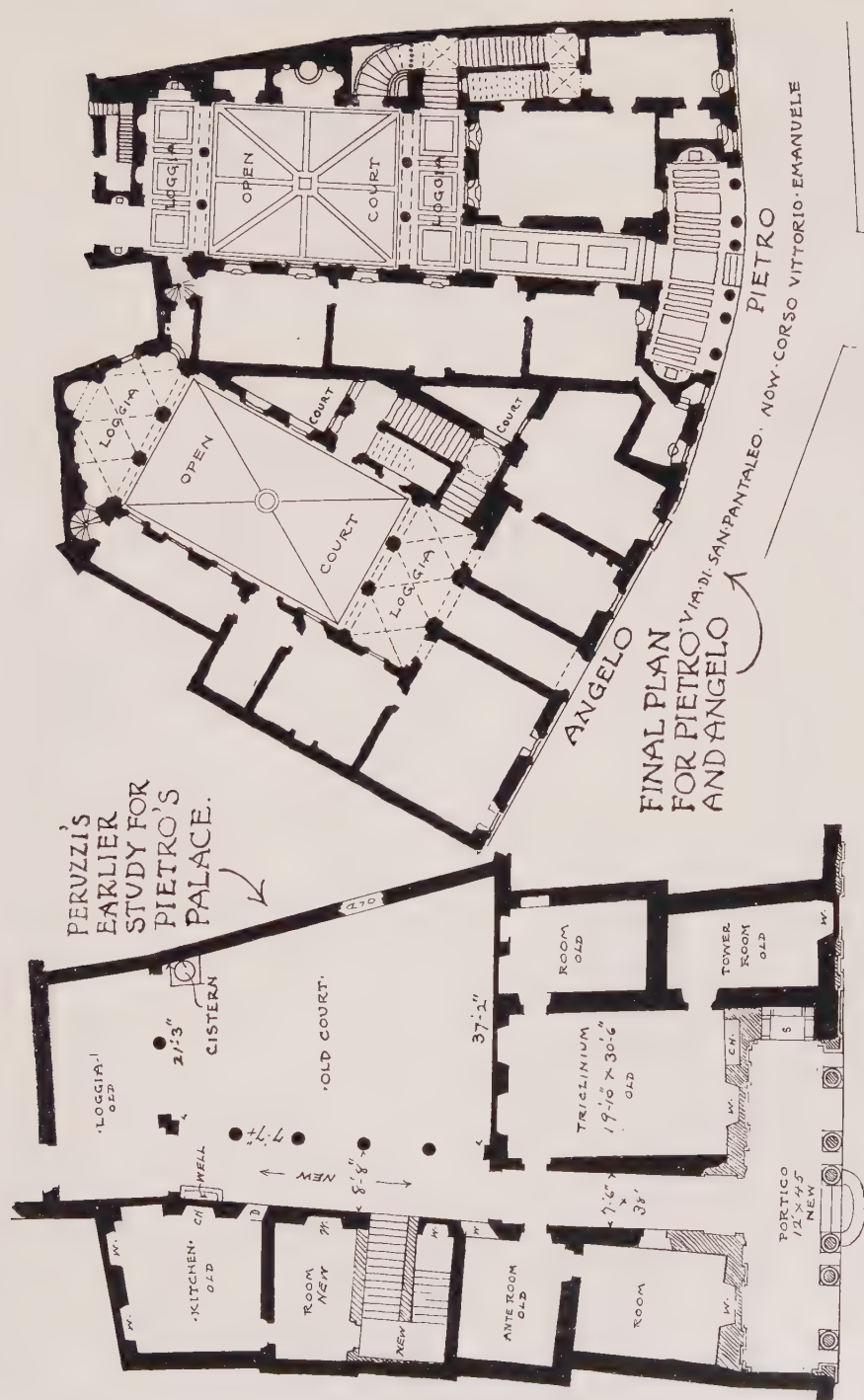
Villa Belcaro (Courtyard)—Near Siena

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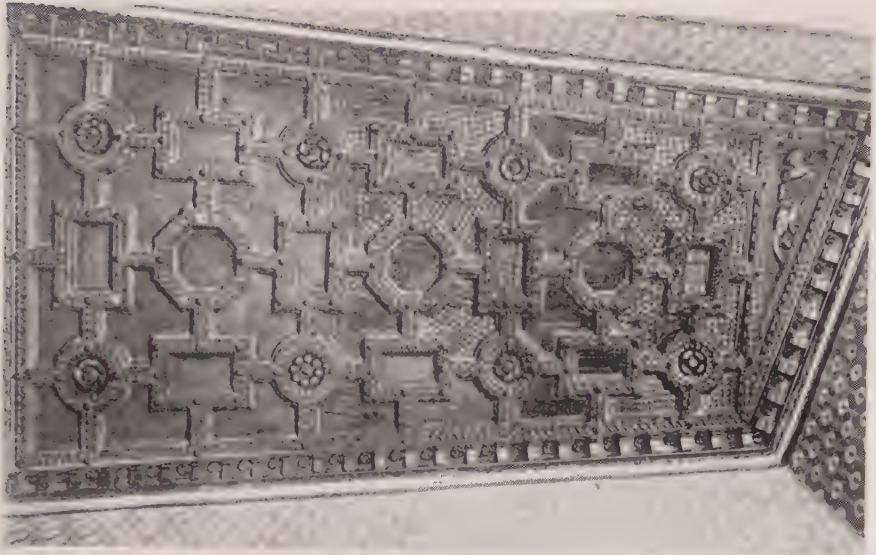
Ceiling of the Loggia, Villa Belcaro—Near Siena

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Plan for Pietro and Angelo Massimo's Palace on Via Pantaleo—Rome

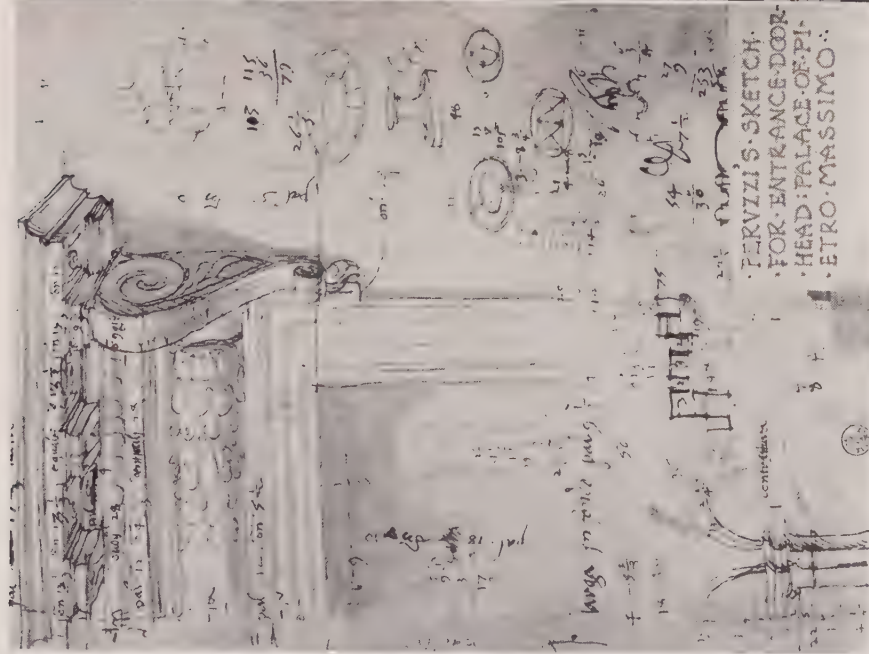
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Palace of Pietro Massimo
(Above) Ceiling of small room in same

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Sketch for Entrance Doorhead and Ceiling of Portico—Palace of Pietro Massimo

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Sketch (Uffizi). Suggesting the Fresco on Soffite of Arch of Chapel at Villa Belcaro—Siena
 Bust of Peruzzi by Duprè, 1853. Accademia Delle Belle Arti—Siena

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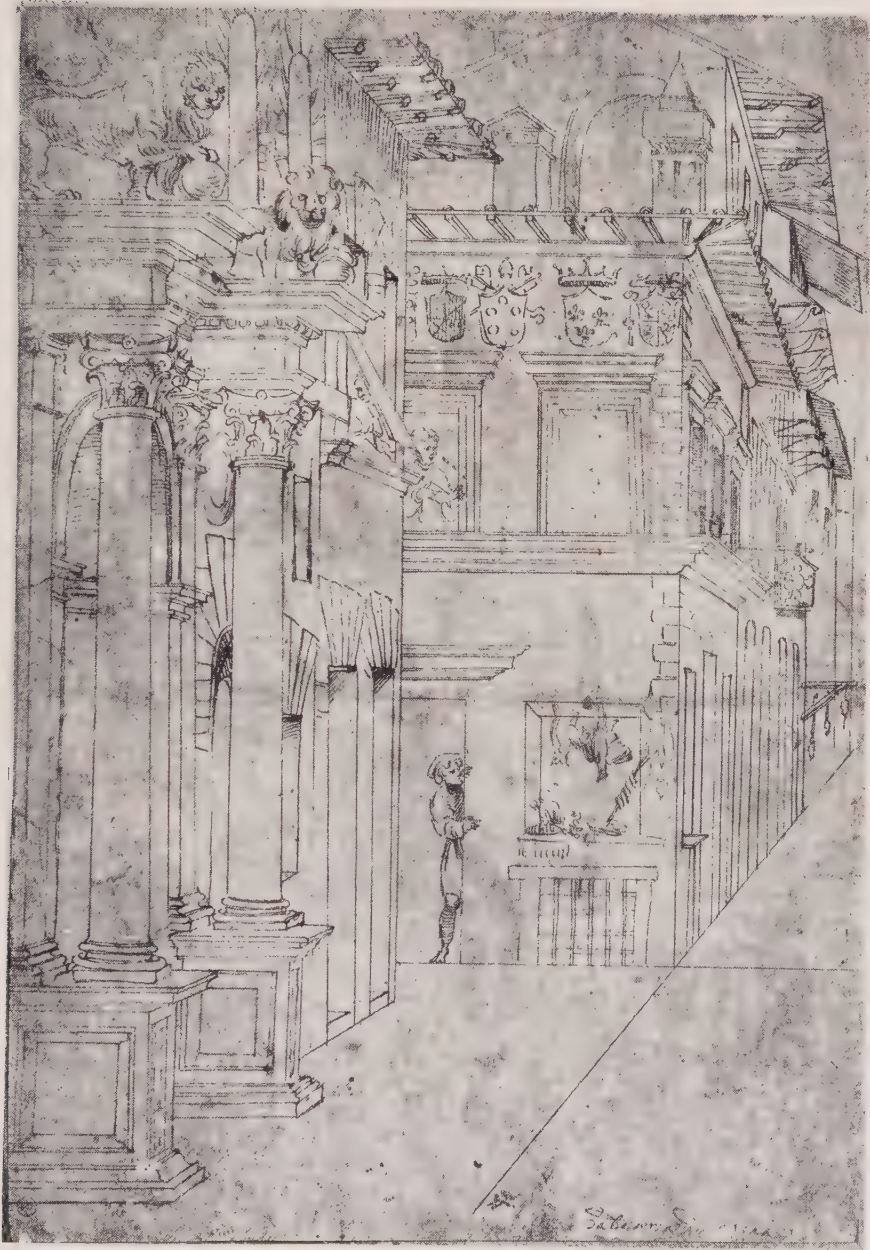


A—Ancient Altar, Sketch by Peruzzi—(Uffizi)

B—Terra-Cotta, Planternero or Papal Insignia of Julius II. Della Rovere—in ceiling,
at Casala della Magliana, near Rome

C—Canephorae by Peruzzi—(Uffizi)

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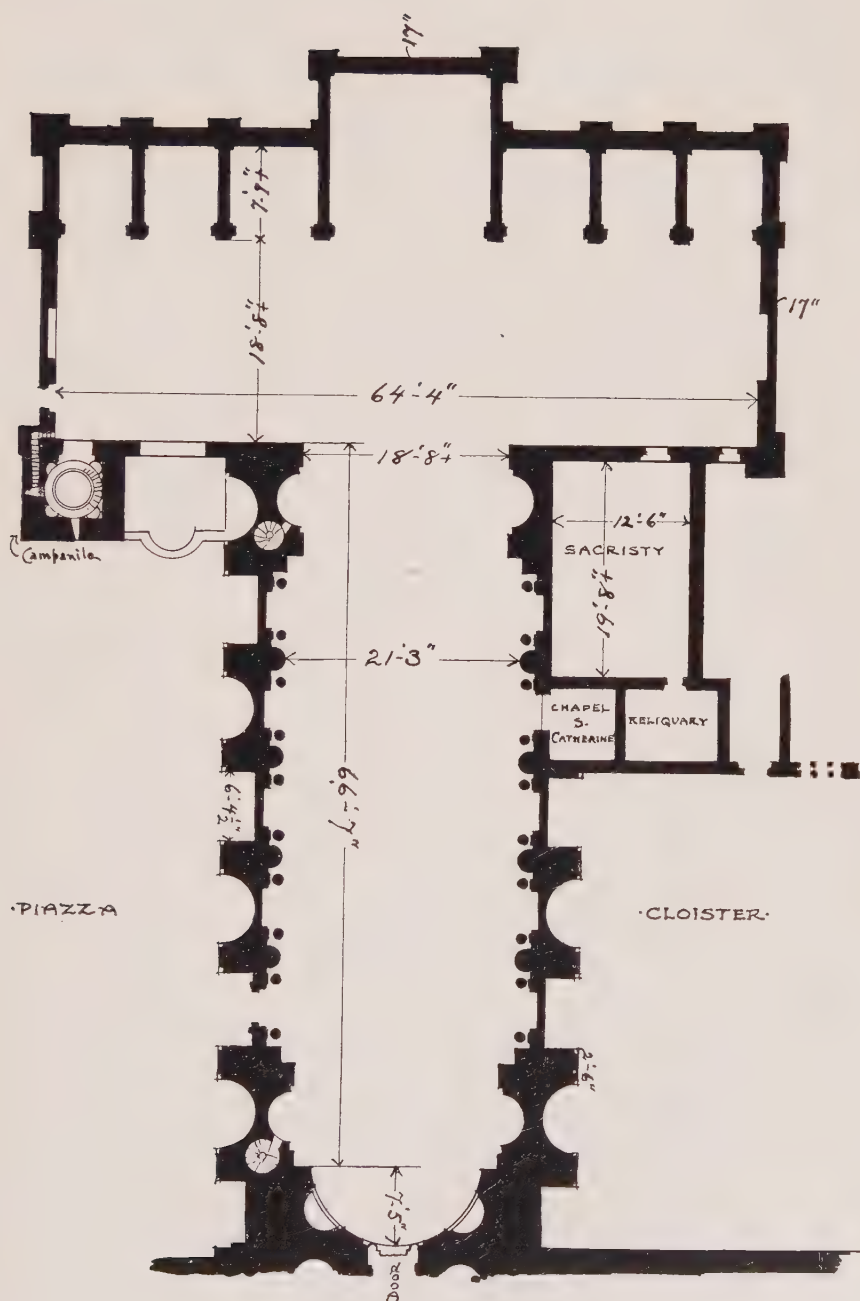


Ancient Roman Street Scene for a Play
Turin

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1—Tower of the Diavolo or Turchi Palace—Siena. Photo Lombardi
2—Contucci Palace—Montepulciano. Photo Lombardi



One of Peruzzi's Plans for San Domenico—Siena

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Palace in Banchi Vecchi—Rome. Attributed to Peruzzi and to A. Sangallo



The Holy Family, Doria Gallery—Rome



The Holy Family, Pitti Palace—Florence

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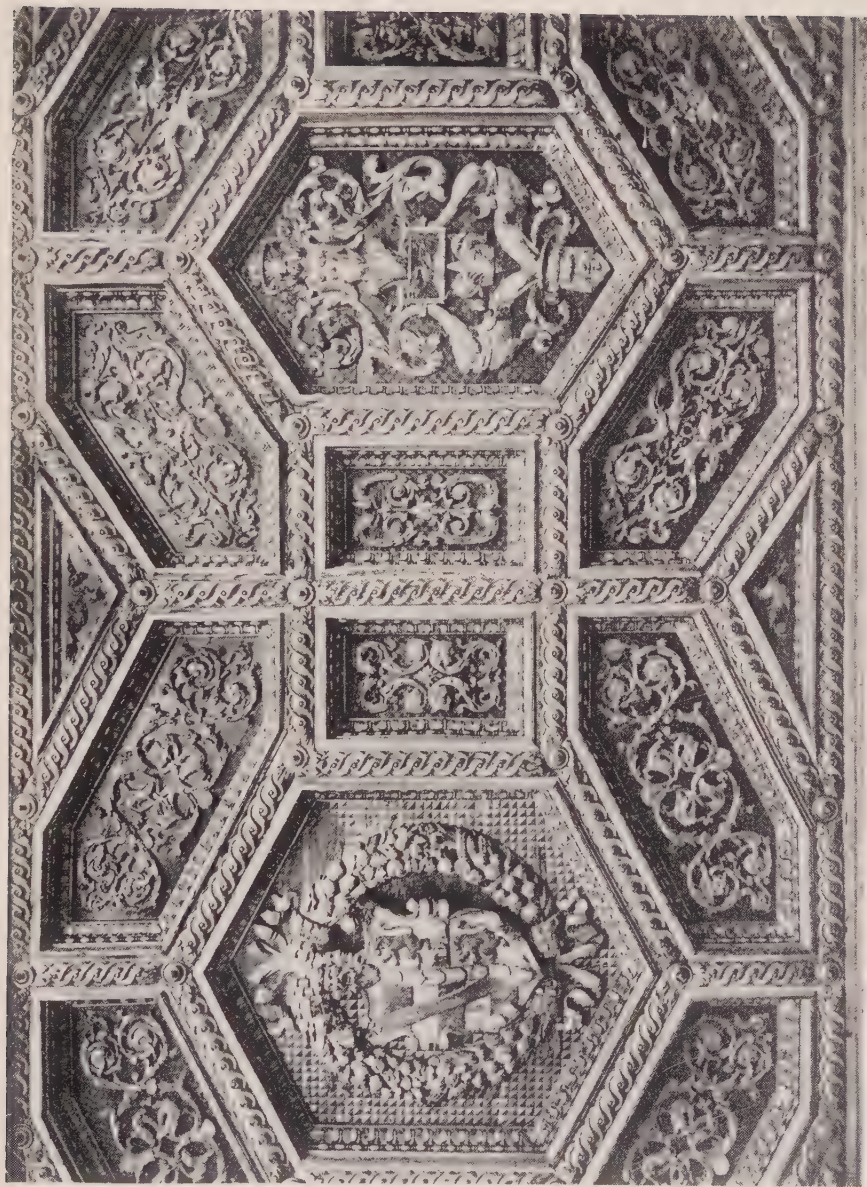
Church of the Osservanza—Opposite Siena

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Room of the Tapestries

Small Apartment—(Palazzo of Pietro Massimo)—Rome



Ceiling of second-story Loggetta. Palace of Pietro Massimo—Rome

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